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THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

VOLUME I

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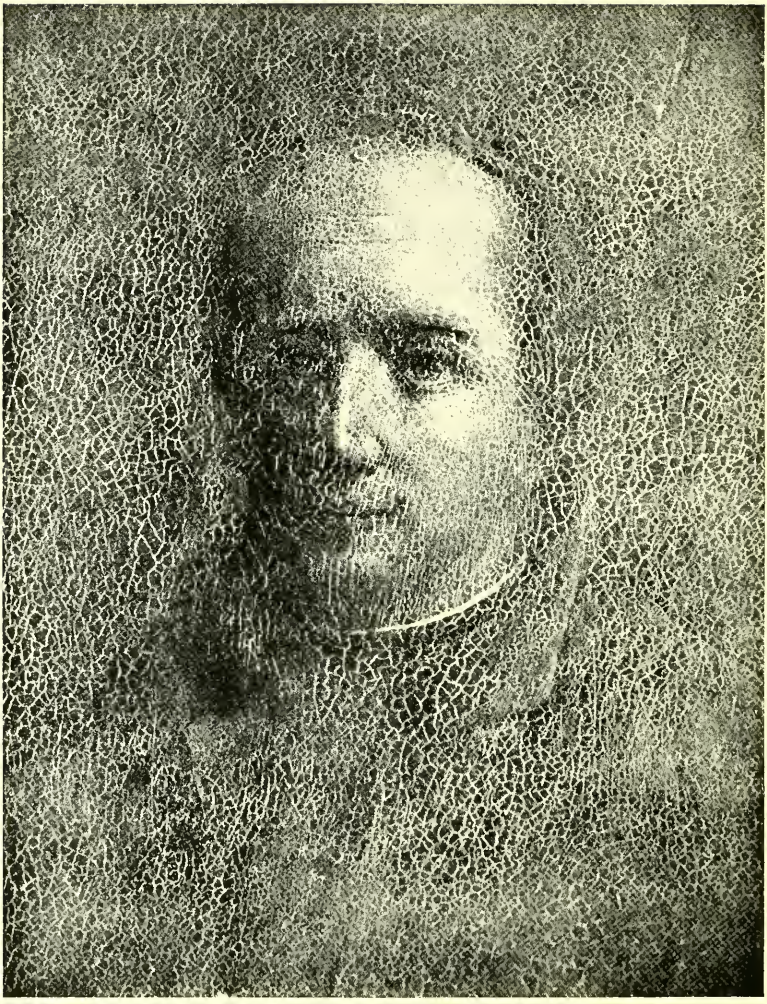

Jacque Marquette

[From an oil portrait by an unknown artist, discovered in Montreal in 1897]

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THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS
VOLUME ONE

THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

1673-1818

SAUK VALLEY COLLEGE
LRC 36129

BY
CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

PUBLISHED BY THE
ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION
SPRINGFIELD, 1920

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PREFACE

THE sentences of this preface are actually written amidst scenes the antithesis of those in which the volumes of the history were born and brought to maturity. The boundless prairies formed their cradle and offered unobstructed stretches for their development; while this act of baptism, so to speak, is taking place in a valley formed by the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts. Not far away, as the automobile runs, lie Greenfield, Northampton, and Williamstown, the names most familiar in my ears, when the verdant slopes of Mounts Tom and Holyoke were mysterious regions peopled by the fairies and Indians of childhood and later when Mount Greylock was watching over those callow days of football and tennis. From these rock-bound valleys to the oceanlike levels of central Illinois is a long, long trail.

As I contemplate these scenes it appears strange that Fate should have chosen a child of the "everlasting hills" as editor of a history of the prairie land of Illinois. Yet historically such a selection is justifiable. From the towns and villages lying about me as I write these words thousands of men, women, and children traveled along the Erie canal and across the lakes to spread themselves over the prairies where my home now is. In the history of Illinois the men of western Massachusetts have played a notable part. Mountains and prairies are inseparably bound by ties of blood and tradition. Though it was late when I followed the well-worn trail over steel tracks in a Pullman car, I belong to that vast multitude who for three generations have carried their Lares and Penates across the mountains and have built their new hearths on the prairies, there to find themselves surrounded by the same familiar faces.

From the scenes of my boyhood I seem to see this process of the transference of population more clearly and to perceive more fully its significance. The history of Illinois is indeed a

part of the great history of the conquest of the Mississippi valley by white men. To the prairies came men of the north, men of the south, men from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany; they built their cabins side by side, and in the same manner as they gave assistance to each other in raising their dwelling houses, they worked shoulder to shoulder in building the structure of the American state which is called Illinois — a monument to democracy.

What a noble structure it is, the history of this conquest of the prairies! If it could only be written in its fullness, with that accuracy which is the ideal but the despair of the historian, what a book it would make! If one could only explain the transference of the men of the east to the distant west, if one could only unravel the threads of the complex forces that have resulted in the growth of this prairie state — if one only could! Partial as every state history must be, I can dream of a history of Illinois that would be one of the greatest contributions to the knowledge of humanity ever produced. It would discover the relation of the soil and climate to the social-psychic conditions; it would reveal the changes in men wrought by the geological foundations of the prairies; it would trace the consequences of the mixture of races — alterations in the melting pot — upon the psychogenesis of generations; it would follow to the end the working of the inexorable economic forces upon primitive society, upon the farming communities, and upon the complex city life; in a word, it would explain human society as developed on prairie land.

Though the territory whereon the drama has been played may be limited, the motives of the men and their actions have been infinite in their diversity and intensity; the play has run through the whole gamut of human motives from the self-abnegation and humanitarianism of Father Marquette to the selfishness and arrogance of John Dodge; here on the soil of Illinois has been developed one of the most perfect of the human species in Abraham Lincoln, and here also have grown to manhood the most vicious of men. Ever varying, ever changing — such is the history of Illinois.

The writer of such a work, besides being trained in the science of history, would have to be well acquainted with

geology, meteorology, and agriculture; he should be an expert in ethnology and sociology, in psychology, genetics, and medicine; he should be an authority in diplomatics and political science; and beyond being master of these and other sciences, he should be a greater philosopher than the world has yet produced and should be possessed of a mind more emancipated from prejudice than is ever likely to be developed, and he should have a human sympathy beyond measure.

Undoubtedly some such perfect work of history has been the hope of the Illinois people, and possibly the Centennial Commission has had some idea that measures had been taken to secure its production. I have stated the requirements for the writing of such a work in order that the readers may realize how impossible would be the accomplishment, how unfair to demand it from the authors. Still the Centennial Commissioners have set up a high ideal and in order to obtain good results have taken every precaution and have put forth every effort. They have, in fact, persuaded the commonwealth of Illinois to make an effort to secure a full and accurate account of its past greater than is recorded of any other state in the union.

A history of Illinois suggests many things to many minds, and it can hardly be hoped that any concrete exemplar will be found satisfactory to everybody. The truth is that the problem of writing a state history is so complex that it cannot be solved even to the satisfaction of the authors attempting to do so. What belongs in such a history? The question has constantly been put to me by my associates in the undertaking, and I have found it impossible to formulate an answer that will stand the test. The story of any member of the union is only a slice arbitrarily cut out of the history of the American people, and the correct balance between national events and state happenings has been most difficult to establish. Frequently the lesser seemed incapable of being explained without a long exposition of the greater. The problem of the choice of subject matter was made more complex by the decision — probably wise — of the Centennial Commission to limit the number of words in each volume. This limitation has brought to every author the heartbreaking experience of going through his completed manu-

script to eliminate some thousands of words, and the process has not always resulted in benefit.

A few examples will make the problem more clear. Take one from the volume covering the period of the Civil War. Here was a great national event in which citizens of Illinois played a most noble part. Should the author attempt to follow the Illinois regiments through the numerous battles in which they were engaged? Consider the implications. To make the description of these battles intelligible, it would have been necessary to include pages of narrative devoted to the military operations of the whole war. In the space allowed, that would have been impossible, unless most important events occurring within the state were omitted.

Here is another example illustrating another phase of exclusion. One of the romantic events of the period covered by the second volume was the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to the state. Receptions and speeches abounded; many Illinoisians had the honor of shaking hands with one of the most notable figures of his time. The story is omitted. Why? It is an episode of interest to antiquarians, but not nearly so important in the development of Illinois as the beginning of prairie farming that was taking place at that time. The inclusion of the latter subject was the choice of the author.

Some critics will undoubtedly protest — and with some reason — that the authors have mentioned the names of too many men without adequate characterization; but judging from the numerous letters I have received from men and women concerning their notable ancestors, I believe the authors will be criticised by Illinoisians for having omitted the names of too many. Many representatives in congress, even senators and governors, have received no notice, or only a casual mention in the history. It must be remembered, however, that the state of being a high official does not constitute greatness; and even were a man moderately prominent, his particular activity may not have been best fitted in the eyes of the author to illustrate the development that was taking place at the time. After all, the writing of history has a literary and an artistic side which an author cannot afford to neglect in order to bring in mere names.

There is one error of judgment that I fear may be made in criticising this work. It will find its basis in the American tendency to glorify the past generations. We are all prone to apotheosize our dead. Washington and Lincoln have already ceased to be men and have been placed on thrones in the clouds, very human though they were in real life. What the popular fancy has done for the more prominent, it does for the whole past generation. The pioneers have been so etherialized that it is difficult to imagine them enjoying their corn whisky and rolling out round oaths as so many were wont to do. The men and women of the frontier lived on a plane of civilization considerably below that of their descendants, and homespun and calico did not clothe greater virtues than do today's silk and tweed. We have recently seen our generation with its silk hosiery and creased trousers aroused to an idealism that would have found little response fifty or a hundred years ago.

The following volumes represent an earnest effort to arrive at truth. The authors have not been satisfied with repeating the interpretations of former historians but have made a wide search for material and upon a direct study of contemporary sources of information have based their own interpretations. In the process many traditional accounts of past events have been discarded for those which have a greater semblance of truth. There can be no value in clinging to a misunderstanding, however hoary with age.

The last volume and a half differ in character from the rest of the work. In these the attempt has been made to picture Illinois as it is after a hundred years of statehood. Written by an economic historian and a political scientist, the method of approach, the viewpoint, and the subject matter are in strong contrast to the treatment generally followed by the typical historian. Besides the evident value of a more or less static picture of the state, the method employed by these authors did not place upon them the necessity of describing current events and of passing judgment on persons still living. Some of these happenings are still too near — too recent — to allow of the presentation of a scientific and unprejudiced account. The future historian, however, will undoubtedly find in these later

chapters much material that will be of value for his interpretaton.

In this preface to the Centennial History I have the pleasant duty of acknowledging the assistance of many people and institutions. The project has received from everybody the most enthusiastic support, and I herewith express the thanks of the Centennial Commission, the authors, and myself for the many helpful acts and suggestions that have been so generously accorded us.

Two institutions, the Illinois State Historical Library and the Illinois Historical Survey, the latter a department of the University of Illinois, have from the beginning granted the enterprise financial support and have freely loaned their employees in order that success might be attained. Without their aid the completion of this history would have been impossible, and they deserve in proportion to the funds at their disposal as much credit for its final success as does the Centennial Commission itself. The direct help from the Illinois State Historical Library was furnished from its Urbana office, but at the same time the office at Springfield under the able management of Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber has been called upon constantly for assistance; in particular I feel under obligations to Mrs. Weber and her assistants for the manner in which they have relieved me of so many of the worries of the business side of the enterprise.

Other institutions have also given freely. The Library of Congress has been more than generous in placing at the disposal of the authors its treasures, as has the Chicago Historical Society, the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, Laval University of Quebec, the Canadian Archives, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. In the case of the last named I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness for the loan for several months of the assistance of Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, who worked through a mass of material from the Paris Archives and prepared most helpful memoranda for my use.

The authors express their appreciation of the guidance and tolerant oversight exercised by the Centennial Commission and its committee on publication. In this connection I must express my own gratitude and that of the state at large to the exertions

of the chairman of the commission, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, without whose friendly advice and aid the Centennial History never would have been published. He has known how to smooth out many, many difficulties.

To President Edmund J. James, Dean David Kinley, and Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, the history owes much. They were largely responsible for its conception and from first to last have not spared themselves in forwarding its interests.

Never has man received more loyal service than the members of my office force have given me during these trying years. They have been ready to do anything at any time with slight thought of reward and without regard to office hours; their sole aim has seemed to be the accomplishment of what was best for the Centennial History. A long illness kept me many months from my office and placed on these young women great responsibilities to which they proved themselves equal. Words can express but feebly my feelings of gratitude to them. To my private secretary, Mrs. Leila White Tilton, my successive editorial assistants, Miss Ruth E. Hodsdon and Miss Mary E. Wheelhouse, my chief stenographer, Miss Marvel Jones, and her many assistants, the indexers, Mrs. Lucille Allen Lowry and Mrs. Esther Mohr Dole, and to the research assistants, Miss Anita Libman, Miss Grace Stratton, and the late Mrs. Agnes Wright Dennis, whose brilliant career has been cut short by a most lamentable accident, I herewith express my thanks.

To those colleagues of the University of Illinois faculty who so kindly read the manuscript of the first chapter of volume one, and to Dr. Truman Michelson of the Bureau of Ethnology, who read that of chapter two, I am indebted for many friendly suggestions. To the authors of the volumes of the Centennial History I wish to express my appreciation of their enthusiastic coöperation and tolerant forbearance under many trying circumstances. At the same time, I wish to express my particular appreciation of Professor Arthur C. Cole, who has given me valuable help and advice on every volume.

For assistance on my own volume I have already mentioned my indebtedness to Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg; I have also to acknowledge the work of Mr. Ralph Linton, who col-

lected much valuable data on the elusive subject of the Indians of Illinois. In addition the aid given by two others must be noticed: Dr. P. F. Reiff prepared for me the rough draft of chapters seven to eleven, and my secretary, Mrs. Leila White Tilton, did the same for chapters two, twenty, and twenty-one. They are in no way responsible for the errors that may be found in the final form, for I have written into their drafts the results of my own research and my own interpretation.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

URBANA, *August 24, 1919.*

THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

1673-1818

ERRATA

Read on p. 412, line 11, " or " for " to."

Read on p. 425, line 11, " pro-slavery " for " antislavery."

I. THE LAND IN THE MAKING

"GOD'S meadows" they are named, and God's meadows they are. During millions of years they were fashioned in the laboratory of Nature; inexorable forces have uplifted and depressed them, have flooded and drained them, have crushed and scraped them, molding them to a form ideally adapted for the home of man. Over the surface and in the bowels of the earth, on the hilltops and over the prairies, on land and in water, Nature has bounteously spread her gifts before the sons of men in the "country of the Illinois."

The location of the land as well as its fertility has shaped its destiny. The territory of the state touches the watershed of the Great Lakes on the north, is washed on the west by the Mississippi river, and extends to the Ohio on the south. Resting in the heart of the Mississippi valley, the Illinois country has been shaken by every great force stirring the continent; the north and the south, the east and the west have exercised formative influences on its destiny. Hither men have brought their household goods from Canada; traders have pushed their boats toward the prairie lands against the turbid current of the Mississippi; hordes of settlers have crossed the Alleghenies and have floated down the Ohio or have sailed the Great Lakes to Chicago; in later days, men from Illinois have been among the builders of all the trans-Mississippi states that stretch across prairies and mountains even to the Golden Gate.

Great nations have struggled for the possession of the Illinois country. France ruled it, and was swept away by the might of Great Britain; Spain looked upon it with longing eyes; and at last the opportunity to develop its resources was granted to the United States. Even then the struggle for the territory continued; the men of the south met on the prairies the men of the north and fought out at the polls the same titanic struggle which later shook the nation. The history of Illinois in a very real sense typifies the development of the American west.

Along the many rivers which bound and cross the state like arteries has pulsated the life of the great inland valley. For thousands of years they carried the commerce of the Indians, along their courses have floated hundreds of war bands, and their banks have guided the footsteps of migrating nations. White men followed the routes long known to the Indians. The first Europeans to touch Illinois soil came by way of the Great Lakes; from Green Bay they voyaged up the Fox river and portaged over to the Wisconsin, thus reaching the Mississippi.[1] Explorers, traders, missionaries, and settlers soon followed. They came sometimes by Lake Michigan to the Chicago river, up which they paddled or rowed; thence making a portage of four miles or more to the Des Plaines river, they reached the Illinois and the great beyond. Sometimes in low water the passage was difficult, and traders preferred to carry their boats thirty miles or more rather than to push them over the bed of the Des Plaines; but when the water was high, no portage obstructed their passage, for then the waters of the lakes and of the Mississippi basin were intermingled; and at such times many a mackinaw boat, loaded to the gunwales with furs, floated from one to the other.[2]

Other frequently used portages were the ones from the St. Joseph river to the Kankakee and from the Maumee to one of the upper branches of the Wabash. The latter was a favorite route during the eighteenth century, when Detroit was the center of western trade, but toward the end of the century the Chicago-Des Plaines again came into popular use, and the buyers of furs plied their trade across its muddy portage as long as this primitive business was profitable in the valley of the Illinois river.

When they became more generally known, the southern approaches proved more valuable, if not so romantic. The Mississippi river, naturally, was a frequent route for craft from the period of canoe travel through the age of the steamboat.

[1] A description of the western portages may be found in Farrand, *The Basis of American History*, chapter 2.

[2] Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 102; Hubbard, *Autobiography* (ed. McIlvaine), *passim*. An excellent account of the portage, with special emphasis on its difficulties, may be found in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, chapter 1.

Before the advent of steam the journey upstream was laboriously accomplished in three months or more by various kinds of boats. From first to last, large cargoes of Illinois products have found their way to market down the Father of Waters, and tons of merchandise have made the weary return voyage.

The last approach to be discovered and utilized by white men was the Ohio river with its numerous branches. The portages from the seaboard rivers to the western navigable streams were many miles in length, but neither their tiring reaches nor their forested and craggy heights deterred eager traders; and over them clambered thousands of settlers in whose ears rang the reverberating refrain:

> Cheer up, brothers, as we go
> O'er the mountains, westward ho.

The state which these newcomers founded extends from approximately 37° to 42° 30′ north latitude and has a total area of 56,043 square miles, an area larger than Belgium, Holland, and Denmark combined, and almost one-half as large as Great Britain.[3] The act of congress admitting Illinois into the union describes its boundaries as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river, thence up the middle of the same and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said State; thence, east, with the line of the same State, to the middle of Lake Michigan, thence north, along the middle of said lake, to the north latitude 42° 30′; thence west, to the middle of the Mississippi river; thence down the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence along its northwestern shore, to the beginning."[4] The whole boundary, about 1,160 miles in length, is formed, with the exception of 305 miles, by navigable waters. The great length of the state, with the resulting variety of climate, has been a factor in its development. The people at the northern end are in the same latitude as the people of central New York, while the southern end of the state lies opposite Newport News in Virginia.

[3] Rand McNally & Co., *Library Atlas of the World*, 1:174 ff. By an error of survey, the northern boundary zigzags across the parallel. Thwaites, "Boundaries of Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11:501, note 1.

[4] *Annals of Congress*, 15 congress, 1 session, 2544; *Illinois in 1837*, p. 9.

In general Illinois is an inclined plane, sloping from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river, with its lowest point at the extreme southern angle. The general elevation of the northern part of the state is about 800 feet above sea level,[5] but in four counties on this border, Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Boone, and McHenry, there are many points as high as 1,000 feet. The point of highest altitude, Charles Mound in Jo Daviess county, is 1,241 feet above sea level.[6] In passing from north to south, there is a fall of 300 feet in the general elevation, but the lowest land, located near the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, is less than 300 feet above the sea.[7]

The Illinois plane forms the bottom of a large shallow basin, of which the neighboring states are the rim; the mean elevation of Illinois is about 600 feet above tide level, that of Indiana 700, of Michigan 900, of Wisconsin 1,050, of Iowa 1,100, and of Missouri 800 feet.[8] More than one-third of the state stands at the average altitude. The plane of the southern part is broken by a rugged belt twenty-five miles wide, rising 300 feet — and in one place over 1,060 feet — above the border tracts. This rough land with its abrupt cliffs of massive rocks is in marked contrast to the prevailing flatness, similar variations existing only in the bottom lands of the Mississippi and in the rocky bluffs of the Illinois river.[9]

The state is drained by the waters of three basins — that of the Mississippi, which comprises eighty per cent of the state's surface; the Ohio river basin, and that of Lake Michigan. The last is small, and its water will be delivered almost entirely to the Mississippi upon the completion of work now in progress in the Chicago sanitary district.[10]

Along the western border of Illinois the Mississippi flows

[5] Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe,* United States Geological Survey, *Monograph,* number 38, p. 179.

[6] Cox, *Lead and Zinc Deposits of Northwestern Illinois,* 16.

[7] The town of the lowest altitude is Cairo, at 317.9 feet; that of the highest is Wadham, 1,022 feet above sea level. Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe,* 7, 179; "Dictionary of Altitudes in Illinois," in Illinois State Geological Survey, *Bulletin,* number 30, p. 115 ff.

[8] A careful estimate made by Professor C. W. Rolfe fixes the average altitude at 633.55 feet. Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe,* 7 ff.

[9] *Ibid.,* 179; Barrows, *Geography of the Middle Illinois Valley,* 1.

[10] Rivers and Lakes Commission, *Report on Water Resources of Illinois,* 1914, p. 6.

placidly, with only two rapids, one at Rock Island, where the river falls twenty feet in twelve miles, and the other at Keokuk, Iowa, where in a distance of eleven miles the river falls about twenty-two feet. Altogether, 44,050 square miles of the state's surface are drained by this noble stream and its branches, chief of which are the Rock, the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, and the Big Muddy. At the southern end of the state the river valley of the Mississippi, which averages one mile in width, is broadened by fertile flats between the river and the bluffs, the gift of the turbid Missouri.

The union of these streams has been the cause of many devastating floods. A French traveler, Volney, in America in 1796, wrote: "This great, this magnificent Mississippi . . . . is a very bad neighbor. Strong in a body of yellowish muddy water, two or three thousand yards in breadth, which it annually rolls over its banks to a height of five to twenty feet, it urges this mass over a loose earth of sand and clay; forms islands and destroys them; floats along trees, which it afterwards overturns; varies its course through the obstructions it creates for itself; and at length reaches you at distances, where you would have supposed yourself perfectly secure."[11]

The Rock river, the most northern of the Illinois branches of the Mississippi, belongs only in part to Illinois, for only half of its drainage area lies within the state. Rising in southeastern Wisconsin and fed by an interesting tributary system of pretty streams and spring-fed lakes, it takes its course through the beautiful undulating country of northeastern Illinois until it joins the Mississippi a short distance below the city of Rock Island.

The Illinois river, as the name indicates, is a central feature of the state; upon the banks of this river of romance have been enacted many of the most stirring scenes in the historical drama of the country. Formed by the union of the Des Plaines and Kankakee rivers, it is swelled by the Fox, the Vermilion, the Mackinaw, the Spoon, the Sangamon, and other streams, until it attains a volume that makes it of all the westward-flowing tributaries of the Mississippi second in importance only to the Ohio. From its head to Starved Rock the Illinois falls rapidly,

[11] Volney, *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States of America*, 380.

more than a foot a mile, and the current has cut a valley about a mile and a half in width; but from Starved Rock to its mouth, four miles above St. Louis, it descends only a little over an inch a mile, and the valley is correspondingly wider, spreading from two to five miles in width in most places and, above the mouth of the Sangamon, expanding to fifteen miles.

In its original state the river was subject to great variation. Like all depositing rivers, it formed natural levees and bars over which flowed at times only from sixteen to twenty inches of water, and along its course lay innumerable stagnant ponds, lakes, and stretches of marshland; then in flood season forty times the volume of water rolled between its banks.

A great change in the character of the river has been brought about by the work of men. By the constant discharge of the water of Lake Michigan through the Chicago ship and drainage canal the levees and bars have been cleared away, and by methods of reclamation most of the former waste lands of the river valley have been won from destructive nature for human use.[12] Before these improvements were made, some protection against the floods was afforded by a series of gravel terraces found along the middle course of the river, which settlers early utilized as sites for towns.

The scenery of the upper Illinois river is varied and most beautiful. The slopes at first are low and gentle, growing gradually steeper until at Marseilles the valley walls are almost two hundred feet high. Here and there the voyager sees huge masses of sandstone rising fortress-like along the banks; those who know the Illinois river will always remember Lovers' Leap, Buffalo Rock, and, most famous of all, Starved Rock. Scenic effects along the lower and middle river are not so striking, yet they are described by a writer of an early gazetteer as "beautiful beyond description. There is a constant succession of prairies, stretching in many places, from the river farther than eye can reach, and elegant groves of woodland."[13]

[12] Rivers and Lakes Commission, *Report on Water Resources of Illinois*, 1914, p. 33; Barrows, *Geography of the Middle Illinois Valley*, 2, 6, 105; Sauer, *Geography of the Upper Illinois Valley*, 17 ff.; Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe*, 499 ff.

[13] Brown, "Western Gazetteer or Emigrants' Directory," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1908, p. 303.

South of the Illinois the Mississippi has no important tributary from the east for over a hundred miles, when it receives the Kaskaskia. The name "Okaw," by which the stream is called locally, is a corruption of the French "Aux Kaskaskias," an interesting echo of the days when the lower valley of this river was the heart of French Illinois. It wanders in a serpentine course of four hundred miles over the prairies from Champaign county to its mouth near the town of Chester; its narrow drainage basin ordinarily supplies it with only a small volume of water; but frequently this rises very considerably — sometimes as much as twenty feet — flooding large areas of the valley and causing numerous changes in the channel of the river.

A stream of this character flowing to meet the mighty Mississippi, likewise subject to high floods and to sudden shiftings of channel, was predestined to interesting changes; and from earliest times the towns and forts on the flat land separating the two streams were frequently affected by the ravages of floods. A most dramatic event, involving a transformation in the character of acres of land, took place in 1881. By that year the two rivers in their meanderings had approached within a few hundred feet of each other at a point some six miles above their confluence, and a particularly violent flood caused the Mississippi to break across the narrow neck of land between and cut for itself a new channel out of the bed of the narrower stream, enlarging it at the expense of the low-lying shore where stood the ancient town of Kaskaskia, which in the course of years has become buried beneath the flood that once conveyed its trade to New Orleans.[14]

Similar in character to the Kaskaskia is the Big Muddy, which flows through southwestern Illinois to join the Mississippi forty miles above Cairo. Though it is ordinarily only a small stream, backwater from the Mississippi frequently extends sixty miles up the river; at other times floods swell it above the ordinary level to a height of thirty feet.[15]

The Ohio river, which bounds the state on the south, receives

[14] Burnham, "The Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1914, p. 95.

[15] Rivers and Lakes Commission, *Report on Water Resources of Illinois*, 1914, p. 156.

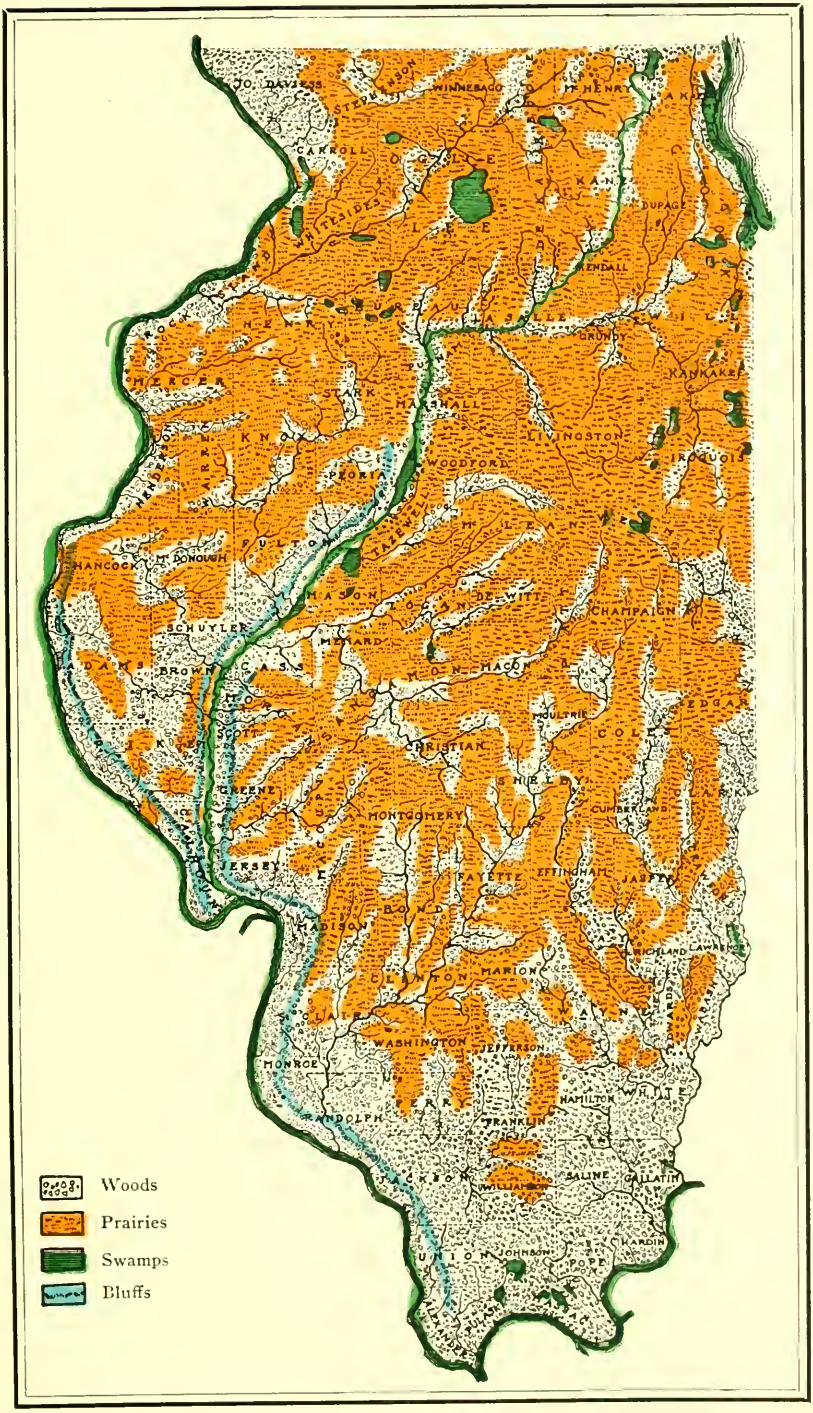
no tributaries of importance directly from the lowlands of Illinois; but the Wabash, which joins the Ohio from the north and which for more than two hundred miles of its lower course forms the eastern boundary of the state, carries to the larger stream the waters of the Vermilion, the Embarrass, and the Little Wabash rivers, draining a large portion of eastern Illinois. The Wabash valley, now thickly settled and highly cultivated, charmed its earliest beholders by its "vast natural meadows" and "fine woods."[16]

The beauty and fertility of these wooded river banks of Illinois and of the immense stretches of sunny prairie were a continual source of delight to the early explorers and settlers. A glance at the map reproduced on the opposite page will show that southern Illinois was chiefly woodland; below a line passing through Champaign, Peoria, and Rock Island, mixed woodland and prairies prevailed; north and east of this line the prairies spread out in an almost unbroken stretch, except in the heavily forested northwestern corner.[17]

The gorgeous scenery of the uncultivated prairies has disappeared beneath the sod turned over by the deep-cutting plow. No longer is the eye delighted with the brilliant coloring of former days. Fortunately, admiring visitors have preserved on the written page vivid pictures of the primeval landscape, and the imagination is by their help able to reconstruct the beauties that are no more. "The touching, delicate loveliness of the lesser prairies, so resplendent in brilliancy of hue and beauty of outline," writes a traveler, "I have often dwelt upon with delight. The graceful undulation of slope and swell; the exquisite richness and freshness of the verdure flashing in native magnificence; the gorgeous dies of the matchless and many colored flowers dallying with the winds; the beautiful woodland points and promontories shooting forth into the mimic sea; the far-retreating shadowy *coves*, going back in long vistas into the green wood; the curved outline of the dim, distant horizon, caught at intervals through the openings of the forest; and the whole gloriously lighted up by the early radiance of morning,

[16] Collot, "A Journey in North America," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1908, p. 271.

[17] This map with some important changes is also reproduced in Barrows, *Geography of the Middle Illinois Valley*, 69.



DISTRIBUTION OF WOODS, PRAIRIES, SWAMPS, AND BLUFFS IN ILLINOIS

[Reproduced from Gerhard, *Illinois As It Is*]

. . . . all these constituted a scene in which beauty unrivaled was the sole ingredient."[18]

Most of the open prairie was covered with high beard grass, usually interspersed with tall-growing flowers, such as prairie dock, cup plant, and compass plant, a number of gaudy sunflowers, several species of oxeye, and large purple patches of ironweed, often mixed with various thoroughworts, asters, and ragweed. Indian plantain, leafcup, horseweed, and hyssop were abundant, while dragonhead, prairie clover, blazing star, milkweed, orange lilies, and wild roses added to the gorgeous coloring. Among the lower grasses flourished large areas of black-eyed Susans, purple coneflowers, and bright bur marigolds.

Many of the prairie flowers grew in compact masses of vivid color, giving the appearance of a glorified patchwork quilt flung over the land. In the spring strawberries, bearing abundant scarlet fruit, were scattered far and wide; wild phlox added gay splashes of blue and pink. The blue phlox, the Greek valerian, and the bluebell were usually found in the more moist areas. Wild garlic was abundant. The blue iris made a rich spot of color, and the unicorn plant and the beardtongue occasionally grew in great patches. For acres at a stretch the summer fields glowed with vivid goldenrod.[19]

During the years of 1836 to 1848, a German scientist spent days in classifying the flora around Belleville; he has thus described his impressions of the prairies:[20] "Among the trees the crab-apple was perhaps the most common, alternating with usually smaller thickets of wild plum. Along the draws or hollows the latter predominated; along the infrequent creeks, belts of other lowland growth prevailed. Occasionally the black prairie was broken by low hills with a stiff yellow clay soil, generally wooded with black jack . . . . or where the soil was lighter, with red, black, and white oak." Here and there on the black prairie appeared groups of persimmon trees, forty feet or more in height, bearing a large sweet fruit; the tree differed markedly from the "old field" persimmon of later

[18] Flagg, *The Far West,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* 26:340.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Hilgard manuscript in Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois.

times. "In the thick growth bordering the streams, oaks were the most common trees, notably the shingle oak; there were also various haws, maples, American red bud, wild plum, prickley ash, honey locust, the Ohio buckeye, the Kentucky coffee tree, and clumps of pawpaw."[21] Surrounding these trees were thick shrubs, cornel, hop tree, spicebush, buttonbush, and hydrangea, while over them climbed luxuriant growths of wild bean, moonseed, passion flower, and grapevine.

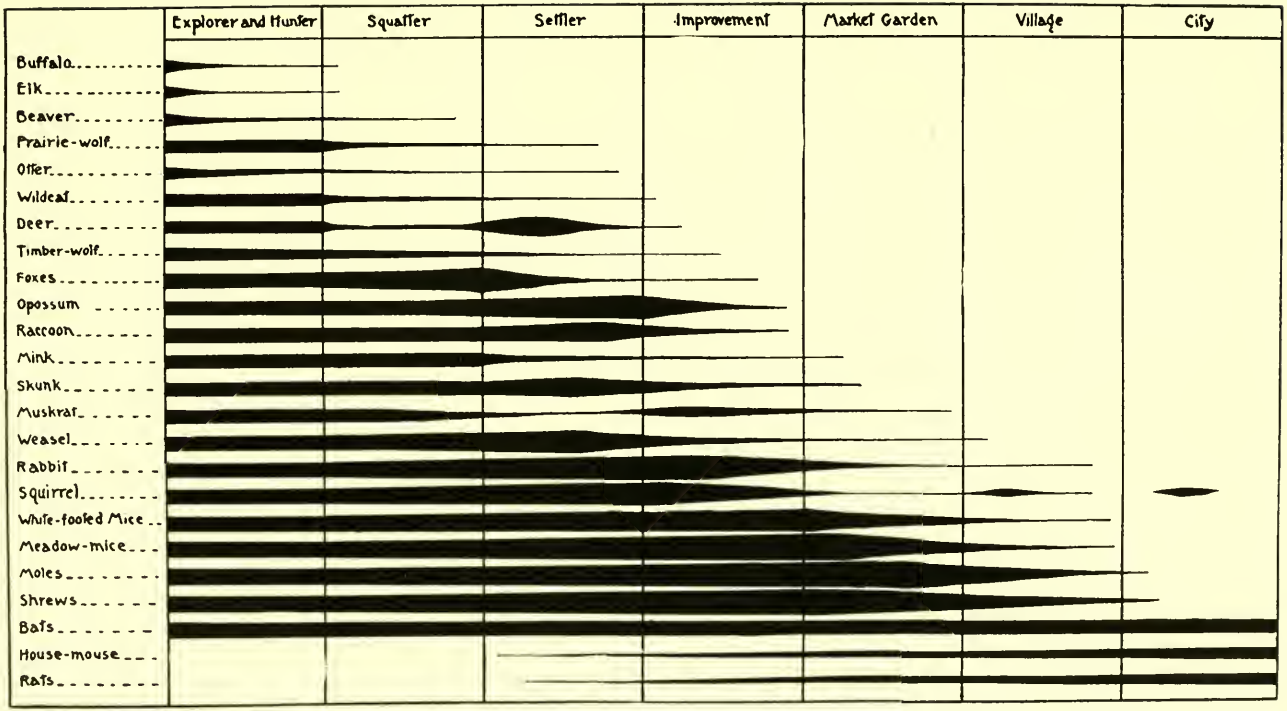
"Nothing so much surprises the European on his first entrance to the western country," writes an author, "as the grandeur and beauty of many of the trees, and more particularly if he happens to arrive in the spring; not fewer than ten species produce a profusion of beautiful blossoms and the underwood consists mostly of some of our finest flowering shrubs." And he mentions, among others, the lovely blossoms of the magnolia, the tulip tree, the horse-chestnut, the azalea, and the dogwood.[22] The writer's enthusiasm was justified, for the varieties of trees warranted a greater extravagance of expression. There have been listed on a piece of woodland of fifty acres, forty-six species of indigenous "hard wood," with twelve additional species within a half mile. In addition to these there were seventeen others that appeared in the immediate vicinity, making in all seventy-five species that might have been found in an area of less than a square mile.[23]

In the woods and on the prairies the great variety of wild animals continually tempted the early settlers from the humdrum life of the farmer to the more romantic vocation of huntsman. The herds of buffaloes which in the earlier period roamed over the prairies had disappeared entirely in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Deer, elk, bears, wolves, foxes, opossums, raccoons, squirrels, and rabbits, however, were plentiful for many years. Wild turkeys abounded in the hilly districts, and prairie chickens and quails were very plentiful. About the

[21] Hilgard manuscript in Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois.

[22] Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior of North America,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* 5:279. Collot lists over twenty-five varieties of trees as common in the Illinois country in 1796. Collot, "A Journey in North America," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1908, p. 295.

[23] Ridgway, "Notes on the Native Trees of the Lower Wabash and White River Valleys in Illinois and Indiana," in United States National Museum, *Proceedings,* 1882, p. 49 ff.; Ridgway, "Additional Notes," *ibid.,* 1894, p. 409 ff.



VARIATIONS IN ABUNDANCE OF MAMMALS

[Reproduced from Wood, *Study of the Mammals of Champaign County*]

headwaters of the Illinois and the small lakes were prodigious numbers of geese, ducks, cranes, herons, swans, cormorants, and wood ibis.[24] An early visitor wrote of the flocks of wild pigeons obscuring the sun.

The fisherman, as well as the hunter, found here abundant sport and profit. One hundred and fifty species of fish have been taken within the borders of the state, some of them, such as the black bass, pickerel, muskellunge, lake trout, and whitefish, being the delight of the sportsman. Of late years the European carp, introduced in 1879, has become by far the most abundant food fish in the state.[25]

The cultivation of the prairies has always presented its difficulties, but the crops have grown from earliest days in spite of destructive enemies. The pioneer's labor was constantly endangered by the chinch bug, Hessian fly, white grub, grasshopper, army worm, cutworm, plum curculio, oyster-shell scale, codling moth, and the periodical cicada, or seventeen-year locust. His livestock was viciously attacked by several kinds of horse-flies, black flies, or buffalo gnats, and cattle flies, while his own peace of mind and his health were endangered by mosquitoes, three varieties being carriers of the malaria germ.[26]

How dangerous the mosquitoes were is shown by the prevalence of malaria in the pioneer days. "Fever and ague" were the scourge of the pioneer, and quinine was his daily diet. The prevalence of malaria caused all the prairie states to acquire a reputation for unhealthfulness. The disease was ascribed to the "poisonous miasmas" which issued from the prairie sod in the late summer and fall. The poor health of the pioneers was due also to the neglect of sanitation and drainage in their homes. Since these have been improved, the state is as healthful as any in the temperate zone.

An enthusiastic pioneer, after a short experience of Illinois

[24] Brown, "The Western Gazetteer or Emigrants' Directory," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1908, p. 307. Consult Kennicutt, "Catalogue of Animals Observed in Cook County, Illinois," in Illinois State Agricultural Society, *Transactions,* volume 1, where are listed over forty mammals, two hundred birds, etc. Of the seventeen snakes observed, only four were poisonous: the copperhead, which appeared in very limited numbers, and three species of rattlesnakes.

[25] Letter from Stephen A. Forbes, Professor of Entomology, University of Illinois.

[26] *Ibid.*

climate, wrote: "If this is the usual season of the Illinois, which can scarcely be doubted, as it answers the character given by those longest resident, then is Illinois one of the finest countries under heaven for human beings to dwell in; one of the most delightful given to man for his residence."[27] Possibly a longer sojourn may have dampened his enthusiasm somewhat, for Illinois, like other parts of the United States, offers a sufficient variety of conditions to furnish everybody with a grievance. In America as a whole greater extremes of heat and cold prevail than in western Europe, and in this respect Illinois is typical of the whole country. It lies in the latitude of Spain and southern Italy; its mean temperature is very similar to that of central Germany, but its winters are comparable to those of Denmark and its summer heat is like that of northern Italy. Its long stretch north and south creates a still greater diversity. A temperature of twenty degrees below zero Fahrenheit is not uncommon in winter on the northern border, yet cotton can be raised in the southern counties. The average temperature of Illinois is fifty-two degrees, and from this the yearly average varies slightly. The growing season is generally one hundred and eighty-six days, the average latest date of killing frost in the spring being April 15 and the earliest in the fall, October 18.[28]

By means of records taken at 142 stations for the years 1881–1910, the mean annual rainfall of Illinois has been determined as 37.4 inches. The yearly totals have ranged from 17.31 inches at Lanark, Carroll county, in 1901, to 71.27 inches at Golconda in 1882. Illinois has known excessively heavy rainfall in a single storm; for instance, at La Harpe, Hancock county, on June 10, 1905, there fell 10.25 inches of rain. About one-half of the rainfall evaporates immediately, from about one-fourth to one-third runs off in the streams, and the

[27] Flower, "Letters from the Illinois, 1820–1821," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 10: 140.

[28] Fuller, "The Climate of Illinois: Its Permanence," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1912, p. 54. There are many departures from the average: in 1857 the last killing frost was on May 11, and in 1878, on March 25; the first killing frost of 1882 was on November 12, that of 1903 was on September 29. Occasionally Illinois has startlingly cold winters. The "deep snow" of 1830-1831 has become traditional. In November, 1911, a change of wind blowing fifty miles an hour caused the temperature to fall twenty degrees almost instantly and fifty-eight degrees in eight hours.

remainder sinks into the soil and rock below.[29] Occasionally Illinois suffers from serious droughts; for the two months of October and November in 1904 two central Illinois stations each recorded only two-tenths of an inch of rainfall.

Hailstorms and tornadoes are only occasional visitors. On the other hand, violent thunderstorms sweep frequently across the prairies, as they have done from time immemorial. "During my wanderings in Illinois," wrote an early visitor, "I have more than once referred to the frequency and violence of the thundergusts by which it is visited. I had traveled not many miles the morning after leaving Salem when I was assailed by one of the most terrific storms I remember to have yet encountered. All the morning the atmosphere had been most oppressive, the sultriness completely prostrating, and the livid exhalations quivered along the parched-up soil of the prairies, as if over the mouth of an enormous furnace. A gauzy mist of silvery whiteness at length diffused itself over the landscape; an inky cloud came heaving up in the northern horizon, and soon the thunder-peal began to bellow and reverberate along the darkened prairie, and the great raindrops came tumbling to the ground. Fortunately, a shelter was at hand; but hardly had the traveler availed himself of its liberal hospitality, when the heavens were again lighted up by the sunbeams; the sable cloud rolled off to the east, and all was beautiful and calm, as if the angel of desolation in his hurried flight had but for a moment stooped the shade of his dusky wing, and had then swept onward to accomplish elsewhere his terrible bidding."[30]

The first visitors to the prairies of Illinois, whether red or white men, saw only the conspicuous phenomena that have been described. Below the surface the Europeans dug a little in search of minerals, but not yet had they learned to read the history of the physical revolutions that even to them lay open in the layers of varicolored earth on the steep banks of the rivers, or in the outcroppings of rocks in various parts of the

[29] Rivers and Lakes Commission, *Report on Water Resources of Illinois*, 1914, see map in pocket; Fuller, "The Climate of Illinois: Its Permanence," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1912, p. 56 ff.; Trowbridge and Shaw, "Geology and Geography of the Galena and Elizabeth Quadrangles," in Illinois State Geological Survey, *Bulletin*, number 26, p. 111.

[30] Flagg, *The Far West*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 26:363.

territory. The capacity to read these aright has cost years of labor performed by generations of scientists, and only in the last few generations has rapid progress been made in deciphering the hieroglyphics chiseled by Nature on her monuments. Even now this history is limited to a relatively short period of time and to only a portion of the earth. Guesses alone can be made concerning that long period before the continents were formed; and concerning what lies deep-buried below the earth's surface, man must still confess almost total ignorance.

Still the story that has been deciphered is a long one and reaches back into the past millions of years before the time when man first made his appearance. It tells of revolutionary transformations wrought by infinite forces; sometimes, of the sudden and violent outbreak of volcanoes and the inexorable shaking of earthquakes, sometimes of quieter but no less effective activities: the wearing away of rocks, particle by particle, their transportation by wind and water, and their metamorphosis by chemical and like imperceptible agents.

The great valley lying between the Appalachian and the Rocky mountains was formed in the dawn of geologic time, from which epoch scant vestiges in the forms of rocks are exposed to view within its borders. It is inferred that great masses of igneous rocks, quartzites and slates, such as outcrop in Canada, have their counterparts farther to the south and sustain layers of rock found underlying the surface. It was a time of a stupendous play of forces, when the earth's foundations were being prepared in the shops of Vulcan. In this earliest period, of which there are no records within the territory of the state, the landscape was probably broken by parallel ranges of high volcanic mountains. These, in the course of ages stretching through a period equal to several geologic periods, must have been worn down by streams and other natural forces to a gently undulating plain, such as has been characteristic of the region from that distant era till the present. Thereafter the geologic book is more easily read.

"And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered." As it is described in Genesis, so it was in Illinois and the surrounding land. Over the midland valley the sea came

and receded, then came again and again, according as the continent was lifted or depressed; the sea bottom received from incoming streams sediment which it sorted by its waves into layers of gravel, sand, clay, and broken shells. Time passed, measured by eons, during which these particles were fashioned into rocks by cementation and pressure. The sand was changed into sandstone, the clay into shale, and the shells into limestone; these constitute the known foundations of the state.[31]

Sometimes the ocean separated the east from the west, forming two continents, sometimes it intruded into the great valley from the north, sometimes the waves of the Gulf of Mexico washed the shore at the present site of Cairo. Geologists have divided the time covered into epochs and periods, each indefinitely long and incomprehensible to the human intellect. Yet by studying rock surfaces in outcroppings and in wells they have been able to determine how layer by layer of the limestone, shale, and sandstone has been laid down, and they have given to each its name and have established the date of its formation in the stratified series extending from deep down below the surface thousands of feet to the youngest rock that lies on top.

During this period of the formation of the known rock layers of Illinois was created the state's wealth in minerals, the most important of which deserves mention, if for no other reason than to bring forcibly to the mind the long reaches of time hurriedly passed in review.[32] During one or more of the geologic periods, Illinois changed repeatedly from a coastal swamp to a shallow sea, depending on the upwarping and sinking of the plane. The flora of this swamp land was luxuriant, its forms unlike those of today; there flourished huge fern trees fifty feet high, softwood evergreens tall and slender, and among these were smaller rank-growing plants. The dominant color of these forests was green unbroken by bright flowers. Such forests grew to maturity, died, and were changed by chemical and other forces into peat and then into coal. It is estimated that the territory of the state during this coal making period

[31] Illinois State Geological Survey, *Geologic Map of Illinois*, 1917; Sauer, *Geography of the Upper Illinois Valley, passim.*

[32] For an account of the mineral wealth of the state, see *Centennial History of Illinois*, 4:411 ff.

passed through this sequence of processes turning forests into coal at least six different times.

After the coal beds had been formed the territory of the state experienced one of those continually recurring internal disturbances, that on this occasion raised the whole surface and warped the edges, the southern portion in particular being radically changed; here the rocks were cracked and pushed or pressed upward, forming the Ozark dome that stretches through southern Missouri. Since then the surface of the state has never been inundated by the sea, but for an indefinitely long period the rock layers were subjected to the persistent forces of erosion. The winds, the frost, and the rain crumbled their surfaces, cutting down the warped edges and carving the Ozark hills into their present shape; the rivers wore their way through the stony beds; and out of the *débris* of erosion was formed a new soil wherein trees and plants took root.

The resulting territory, warped by pressure from beneath and eroded by wind and water, resembled the bowl of a shallow spoon or, rather, of a series of spoons placed one on the other, each representing a stratified layer of rock that during some previous eon had been deposited in the form of particles and transformed into stone. Since the erosion was greater at the edges, the lower layers extended beyond those above. Over all there lay strewn a soil of decayed stone, similar in kind to that of present-day New England. On the whole, the landscape was not so very strange, though the surface was more broken by hills than it is today; the Mississippi rolled placidly, probably more placidly than it does now, along its course; and its branches, such as the Illinois, occupied approximately the same positions in the water system of the great valley that they do at the present time. The northern part of the state was, however, almost unrecognizable. There were no Great Lakes.

The climate throughout the early geologic periods was generally mild, even warmer than it is today, for palms grew here, and evidences of an early coral reef have been found near Chicago. The trees, shrubs, and plants presented an unfamiliar scene, wherein unrecognizable species predominated. The earliest forms have long since become extinct, but as the modern era approached, the flora assumed a more present-day aspect.

Animal life on the earth has passed through many changes. From the earliest appearance of life up to the present time the record of the evolving forms is extensive, running the whole gamut of variation from minute particles of protoplasm, observable only under the microscope, to the huge saurians that at one time roamed over the prairies of the state. Possibly life was even more abundant on the earth during these early eons than it is today. Strange and uncouth it certainly was. Imagination alone can picture an Illinois inhabited by huge reptiles eighty feet long, by gigantic kangaroo-like saurians, by dragons flying on twenty-foot wings, and by innumerable crocodiles. Later the ancestors of the mammals, or more modern animals, made their appearance — strange horses with three and four toes (the hoof was still to be developed on the hard, tough prairies), rhinoceroses, elephants, camels, and saber-toothed tigers.

The surface of the Illinois country was destined to undergo one more radical change before it should be the scene of human activities. All forms of life were for a long period of time to be driven from its surface. From causes not satisfactorily explained there took place a change of temperature. The mild, almost tropical, climate of the previous ages gave way to one of an extreme cold. From Labrador as a center, there slowly traveled, moving a few feet a day, great ice sheets, so thick that mountains delayed but did not stop their progress. Four or five of these massive visitants in succession reached the territory of the state; one that covered its entire area except the extreme south and northwest has been named in its honor, "Illinoian."

In their passage the glaciers deposited over almost all the surface a layer of drift, or bowlder clay, from five to five hundred feet thick, composed of soil, gravel, and bowlders. In places where the edge of the glaciers remained practically stationary, due to an equilibrium between movement and melting, they formed those low rolling hills, or moraines, so conspicuous in the northern part of the state, upon seeing which an early visitor to the region exclaimed: "What mighty voice has rolled this heaped-up surface into tumult, and then, amid the storm and tempest bid the curling billows stand, and fix

themselves there ?"[33] By the advent of the glaciers, valleys that had been conspicuous landmarks during the older geologic time were blotted out, smaller rivers were forced to change their beds and courses, and even the Father of Waters was obliged in places to yield to the power of these northern invaders.

The topography of the northern part of Illinois underwent the most important changes. As the glaciers receded there slowly emerged the bodies of water that in time developed into the Great Lakes. First there appeared the parent of Lake Michigan, called by geologists Lake Chicago. It was a large sheet pouring its waters through an outlet into the Illinois river. Only in the postglacial period was this outlet closed; the level of the lake was lowered by drainage on the east and the shores of the present lake were built up by the slow process of the deposition of sand.[34]

These visitants from the north left to the state a priceless gift, a most fertile soil. In most places the glacial drift has been covered by a layer of loess, varying from two feet to one hundred, blown by the wind or carried by water since the recession of the glaciers; and over this, in turn, decaying vegetable matter has laid a surface covering of black earth. Beneath these and over the preglacial rocks lies the deposit of the glaciers, the bowlder clay, a repository of plant food unsurpassed in the world. In the southern part of the state the Illinoian glacier alone has been responsible for this subsoil, but in the northern counties there may be distinguished layer upon layer of drift deposited by a succession of ice fields.[35]

Difficult it is to satisfy the curiosity about the duration of this long past when rock was piled on rock and over these a rich covering of fertile earth was laid. Some of the early geologic periods must have seen more ages pass than those which have elapsed since the recession of the ice sheets. There are guesses about the age of the earth, which, however, deal in incomprehensible figures; but guesses that convey a recog-

[33] Flagg, *The Far West,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* 26:342.

[34] Leverett, *The Illinois Glacial Lobe,* 418 ff.

[35] Hopkins and Pettit, "The Fertility in Illinois Soils," in University of Illinois, *Bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Station,* 8:187 ff., where will also be found a soil map.

nizable idea have been made about the date when the last glacier disappeared from this region. These may be repeated in the expectation of conveying a conception of that vast stretch of time when the prairies of Illinois were in the making. The minimum and maximum estimates of the time of this event are ten thousand and sixty thousand years. Using these as a basis, the climax of the Illinoian glacier, which covered most of the state, occurred somewhere between seventy thousand and five hundred and forty thousand years ago.[36]

The conditions caused by the glaciers were unfavorable to organic life, the sum total of which was probably reduced; and it is possible that never has there been as complete an adjustment of life to physical environment as existed previous to the glacier period. Still fauna and flora continued to exist on the earth and, between the visits of the successive glaciers, invaded the uncovered lands; and after the final recession of these hostile visitants they became abundant again.

At some time the state may have been covered with a spruce and pine forest, the natural accompaniment of glaciers; but during the interglacial periods the flora of the temperate zone made its appearance quickly, and after the final disappearance of the ice fields the state was covered with the trees, shrubs, and plants that are common today. Yet this reconquest was gradual, requiring centuries for its completion, for the movement of some species, such as the nut bearing trees, must have been exceedingly slow.[37]

During the glacial period and afterwards the animals of modern times became predominant. Within the boundaries of Illinois were buffaloes, bears, deer, wolves, and other familiar species; but among them were mastodons, an occasional mammoth from farther west, and saber-toothed tigers.

Most important of all, men now made their appearance in America. No unimpeachable evidence of human life during the period of the glaciers has been discovered in America, but

[36] Chamberlain and Salisbury, *Geology*, 3:420.

[37] Such trees require years to reach the fruit bearing age and then have need of the active coöperation of some animal like the squirrel to carry their seeds away from their immediate vicinity. It has been calculated that the rate of movement of such trees would be about a mile in a thousand years. Chamberlain and Salisbury, *Geology*, 3:534.

men were then living on the eastern continent. Soon after the return of a more temperate climate in the western hemisphere there was a veritable invasion of these new upright animals who came by land, the two hemispheres at some time being united at the north, on both sides of America. Undoubtedly the rich soil left by the glaciers soon attracted the tribes of men, and for the first time people settled upon the Illinois country. The period of this occurrence escapes the research of geologist and historian; the first date in Illinois history cannot be given.

When in a patronizing mood, geologists assert that the story of man forms only the last chapter of the history of the earth. Accepting this assertion as true, humble historians must admit that the period of men's action known as historical is confined within the limits of the last paragraph of that chapter, and historians of America must content themselves with writing the last sentence in the paragraph. In all humility, the following volumes are offered as a contribution to the interpretation of that sentence.

II. THE ILLINOIS INDIANS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

FIRST the land and then the men on the land, such is the normal sequence; but what historian of the white race can describe the first men of the Illinois country? What magic talisman does he hold that will reveal to him the processes of the red man's mind? They are almost as inscrutable today, after the labors of multitudinous students, as they were to the first missionaries who sought to lead this child of nature up the century-old rounds of the ladder that ascended to the knowledge of the white man's God.

For painting a picture of the Indian, the historian finds himself bereft of his best pigments. There are, of course, many descriptions drawn by the invaders of the land of this enigma, some unskilled, some unfriendly, and some sympathetic, but practically none by Indians uninfluenced by contact with the white man, and none coming down from those days when the red men roamed over prairies still unseen by Europeans.

To write a history of the Indians before the coming of the white men is impossible from lack of records. The only sources of information are, first of all, the Indian traditions, difficult to interpret and frequently so interwoven with additions of European manufacture as to be almost worthless; and secondly the mounds, graves, and the numberless implements of war and utensils of the household, all of which make possible a reconstruction of static conditions existing among the Indians of former days but grant only flimsy support to the interpreter of historical movement; of personalities and of acts the vestiges are so slight that even a historian with the uncanny powers of the Indian of romance finds difficulty in tracking them. The story must therefore be told with the use of many question marks and with many confessions of ignorance. The former romantic, well-sounding, and beautifully definite theories con-

cerning the origin and development of the Indians have been cast into the discard by scientific investigators, and in their place have been substituted interesting hypotheses, which still, after years of research, remain hypotheses.

Men have inhabited the territory of the state for thousands of years, but their coming is shrouded in obscurity. In the last chapter it was said that there was no incontestable trace of man in America at the time of the great ice fields, and that soon after the recession of the glaciers men appeared on the continent. Theory after theory has been propounded concerning their origin; the Indians have been identified with the "lost tribes of Israel;" it has been claimed that they were of Asiatic origin, Chinese or Japanese driven here by adverse winds; or they are written down as Greeks, Phoenicians, Irish, Polynesians, or Australasians. Arguments may be adduced for almost any theory. Out of the conflict of opinion there appears some agreement: at one time northeastern Asia and northwestern America formed a single culture area; also the American aborigines in general bear a closer resemblance to the Mongoloid than to other types of man—beyond these assertions lies conjecture.

A myth long flourished and even now faintly persists that the Indians whom the white explorers found in America were not the first race to dwell in the land; that before them a marvelous people of a very different character, of greater genius and intelligence, and of still more mysterious origin, held sway in a splendid empire stretching from the Alleghenies to the great plains, from the lakes to the gulf. Their civilization, it was claimed, was unique and of a high order; but finally, from somewhere, the Indians came sweeping over the land and annihilated this original race, leaving as the only evidence of its existence numberless mounds raised in honor of its dead or for the worship of its gods.[1]

This romantic myth of the "mound builders," woven out of an ignorance of the culture of the North American Indians, has vanished before a more careful reading of the early explorers and a more scientific exploration of the mounds themselves. No proof of a prior race has been found; no articles

[1] Squier and Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, 306.

have been dug up beyond the skill of tribes known in historic times. Mounds in the process of construction were seen by European explorers, and from them have been unearthed products of European manufacture.

The variety of ancient monuments dotting the surface of the Illinois country and its environs speaks the faltering lines of a drama, centuries old, of a succession of peoples on these prairies. Here they built their villages, erected their shrines, and buried their dead; here they fought off invaders, until they were finally forced to yield the fertile land to other peoples, who in turn suffered the same fate. This drama of the living, striving, and dying of long-forgotten tribes would be romantic and heroic, could its details be read in the piles of dirt that have marked its acts and scenes; but only the barest and most shadowy outlines of the passing of these peoples, an adumbration of reality, can be now rescued from the vestiges of their stay and their flight. Yet these monuments yield some information, for they tell of events belonging to a dim past, of the continental migration of great groups of tribes, in which all the Indians north of Mexico were involved. The story of these migrations, in spite of a lack of chronology and in spite of indistinctness of outline, carries the knowledge of events in America back to a time preceding the voyage of Columbus.[2]

Most baffling of all are the Indian mounds in the central part of the state.[3] Their wide variety, the uncertainty of their chronology, the lack of distinguishing characteristics, make it particularly difficult to decipher by what tribe or succession of tribes they may have been built. The best clue is offered by some "altar" mounds of the type that is found in the state of Ohio and by the similarity between the pipes and other articles

[2] See Carr, "The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, Historically Considered," in Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report*, 1891, p. 503 ff.; Thomas, "Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology," in Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1890, 1891, p. 112 ff.

[3] It must be borne in mind that in practically no region of the state is there one and only one type of mound. On the contrary, mounds representing quite different cultures are often found in the same locality; this, of course, argues a succession of tribes, but may also in many cases mean a modification of a particular tribe's customs through imitation of another tribe. The only practicable method of classification, therefore, is to mark out roughly the boundaries of areas in which a particular type of mound occurs more frequently than any other one type.

unearthed in some of the Illinois mounds and those characteristic of the Ohio culture. A theory has been offered that these works date from pre-Columbian times and were erected by the Cherokee, an Iroquoian tribe.[4] This hypothesis, however, still fails to account for numerous burial mounds in the region which cannot be identified with Ohio types. These mounds exhibit the greatest variety of methods of disposing of the dead, from simple burials in a shallow depression to elaborate communal burials in which a large number of skeletons, usually stripped of the flesh, were buried together and a large mound heaped over them. While this variety would seem to indicate that the burials were the work of a succession of tribes, none of the methods are distinctive enough to be ascribed to any particular tribe. Even if they could be, the difficulty of determining the age of the remains would make it practically impossible to establish a chronology for the migrations of these prehistoric peoples across the central part of the state.

In the lower valley of the Illinois river and along the alluvial flats of the Mississippi river — the American Bottom — the Indian monuments grant greater satisfaction to the curiosity of the investigator. Here a distinctive type predominates — the pyramidal mound, built up from either a square or a circular base, and truncated. The mounds vary in size from insignificant knolls to the Cahokia mound, a "mountain made by man," rising to a height of a hundred feet and covering an area of about seventeen acres, the greatest ancient earthwork in the United States. Although neither the Cahokia mound nor the group of sixty-eight good-sized pyramid mounds in its vicinity have been excavated by trained scientists, it may be inferred that they were used as sites for dwellings and temples, the Cahokia mound possibly serving as a shrine of more than local importance for a relatively dense population.[5]

Who made these great works? Whose hands raised these mountains of earth, often carrying the dirt by baskets from

[4] Thomas, *The Cherokees in pre-Columbian Times*, especially p. 88 ff.; also Thomas, "Burial Mounds of the Northern Sections of the United States," in Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Fifth Annual Report*, 1883-1884, p. 24 ff.

[5] Snyder, "Certain Indian Mounds Technically Considered," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 2:71 ff.; Bushnell, "Cahokia and Surrounding Mound Group," in Peabody Museum, *Publications*, 1904, volume 3, number 1.

the distant bluffs? Probably it will never be known; no one will ever be able to identify with any of the Indians known to the white men the tribe or group of tribes who labored here. Yet the white men saw in the southern Mississippi valley just such mounds as these being used as temples and dwelling places by Muskhogean peoples who had developed a surprisingly complex organization and had reached an advanced state of civilization.[6] The customs of the Natchez in particular may reflect dimly those of the men who in very early days hunted on the prairies of the Illinois country and left in the mounds monuments of their passage.[7]

The articles found in these mounds offer further evidence of the relation between their builders and the southern tribes. The hoes and other farming implements skillfully chipped out of flint or other hard stone and fashioned to fit wooden handles could have been the product only of a people to whom agriculture was of long-standing importance. Still more striking is the similarity between the pottery which has been unearthed from these mounds and that described by early travelers among the Natchez. According to Le Page du Pratz, an early French traveler in the Mississippi valley, "The Natchez Indians make pots of extraordinary size, cruses with a medium sized opening, jars, bottles with long necks holding two pints, and pots or cruses for holding bear's oil."[8] He says further that these vessels were colored by painting with ocher, which became red after firing. Among the vessels discovered in the mounds of southern Illinois, southeastern Missouri, and Arkansas are specimens of all the types mentioned by Du Pratz, and many of the pieces have not only the characteristic red coloring, but even designs worked out in red, white, and yellow

[6] The Indians may be conveniently classified according to geographical location, physical characteristics, general culture, or language. The linguistic criterion is generally the most satisfactory as being the most readily attained; it applies to fundamental differences in syntax and vocabulary, not merely to dialectic variations. Broadly speaking, this classification is generally borne out by division on the lines of the other criteria; there are, of course, numerous exceptions. For the distribution of Indian stocks in North America see the map at the back of *Handbook of American Indians*, volume 1. The principal tribes of the Muskhogean group were: Creeks, Seminole, Muskogee, of the eastern gulf states, the Chickasaw and Alibamu of Alabama and northern Mississippi, and the Choctaw and the Natchez along the Mississippi.

[7] Charlevoix, *Journal d'un Voyage*, 172, describes the customs of the Natchez.

[8] Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 1: 124.

figures.[9] The specimens belong to a high order of craftsmanship; the clay has been tempered with pounded shell, producing pottery far more thin and fragile than the ordinary sand-tempered kind in use among the tribes of the upper Mississippi valley. In shapes and sizes these pots exhibit great variety; and many, fashioned as effigies of animals, reveal striking originality and play of imagination in the primitive artists. These animal effigy types are almost certainly of southern origin, for they are found in greatest abundance in a district which seems to radiate from Pecan Point, Arkansas.

Many bits of evidence pointing in the same direction make it appear highly probable that the southern Muskhogean stock, originating somewhere on the upper reaches of the Red and the Arkansas rivers, migrated gradually southeastward; in the long period of years that must have been involved, it would have been easy for some of the tribes, possibly exterminated in time, to diverge to a course north of these river valleys and to establish themselves finally in the fertile lands of Missouri and southern Illinois. Their stay must have extended over many generations; their numbers must have been large, judging from the mounds they left. Eventually these builders of mounds were forced to retreat before more barbarous tribes. What became of them is unknown; perhaps they were annihilated or absorbed by their conquerors; perhaps they saved themselves by fleeing southward, there to survive to historic times as the Natchez or kindred tribes.

Other mounds within the state give evidence of the occupation by a third Indian stock, the Siouan, which comprised many tribes famous in history. Students have located its place of origin with some degree of certainty in the eastern part of the present United States, possibly in the Carolinas and Virginia.[10] Thence the main part of the family moved west-

[9] A cache containing many pieces of pottery was discovered near the base of the great Cahokia mound, and there are fragments on the surface at many of the sites in this district. Cf. Rau, "Indian Pottery," in Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report,* 1866, p. 346.

[10] The theory of the eastern origin and westward migration of the Siouan stock was first advanced by J. O. Dorsey, a very careful student on the subject. His conclusions have come to be quite generally accepted by subsequent investigators. Dorsey, "Migration of Siouan Tribes," and McGee, "The Siouan Indians," in Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *Fifteenth Annual Report,* 1893-1894, p. 191.

ward, one group — the Dakota, Winnebago, and cognate tribes — following a northerly course along the Great Lakes; another group — the Dhegiha — moving down the Ohio. This latter division, some time after reaching the Mississippi, divided into two parts; one going south to the mouth of the Arkansas became designated Quapaw, or "downstream people;" the other moving northward and up the Missouri river became known as the Omaha, or "upstream people." Subsequently the Omaha group was differentiated into four tribes, the Omaha proper, Osage, Kansa, and Ponca.

This migration must have occurred some time prior to 1541, as it preceded Hernando de Soto's discovery of the Mississippi; but the tradition of it was still lively in the memory of the Illinois Indians two hundred years later, for a Jesuit father in 1700 noted that the Ohio river was "called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis [Miami] the River of the Akansea, because the Akansea [another name for Quapaw] formerly dwelt on it."[11]

Although their ethnic relation to the northern Siouan tribes is unmistakable, many features of the culture of the Quapaw are distinctly characteristic of the southern tribes already described and offer significant indication that somewhere, at some time, they came in contact with the Muskhogean civilization; they also suggest that the Quapaw may well be responsible for some of the monuments of southern Illinois.[12]

The northern Sioux had two chief groups, the Dakota — often called the Sioux proper — and the Chiwere group, made up of four tribes closely allied linguistically, the Iowa, Missouri, Oto, and Winnebago. Tradition says that at one time these four dwelt together as one in the region of the lakes, whence they migrated south and west in pursuit of game.[13]

[11] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:107.

[12] The Quapaw are known to have fortified their towns with earthworks and to have built mounds for various purposes; one type of mound peculiar to them has been found on the Ohio just east of the mouth of the Wabash, and scattered through the southern part of Illinois are many graves and burial mounds similar to those used by the tribe in historic times.

[13] See *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:612 ff., 911; 2:164 ff., 958 ff. An interesting piece of evidence corroborating the traditions of these tribes is the Chippewa tradition that their tribe found the Sioux in possession of the land somewhere east of Detroit, and after waging many wars finally succeeded in driving them west of the Mississippi.

In the territory that is now Wisconsin the Winnebago halted and extended their hunting grounds into the Illinois country; but the other three tribes continued southward and westward across the Mississippi.

Over the territory occupied by these Siouan tribes are found monuments probably raised by their labor. Centering in Wisconsin and extending into Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Winnebago, and Carroll counties in Illinois, is an area abounding in "effigy" mounds, so called because they are built to give a profile representation of some bird, beast, fish, or man. Though the delineation is often so very poor that an amateur observer can make nothing whatever of the image, trained students have identified a number of realistic as well as conventionalized outlines, and the theory has come to be generally accepted that these mounds were raised by various clans in representation of their respective totems to commemorate some signal event or to mark the burial ground of the group, as they are very frequently found associated with a number of ordinary burial mounds.[14] Such faint evidence as exists concerning the state of culture of the builders seems to indicate no such highly developed civilization as that of the southern peoples. Opinions of ethnologists are united in ascribing these mounds to Indians of Siouan stock, presumably the Winnebago and closely allied tribes.[15]

The passing of the Siouan tribes from an eastern to a western habitat must have formed one of the most important events in the prehistoric period of Mississippi valley history. The movement must have unsettled the equilibrium among the tribes, many of which were permanently driven from their homes and their places taken by members of alien stocks. Possibly the wide extension of the Algonquian tribes discovered by the first white men to visit the valley may have been made possible by the movement, or possibly the migration of the Siouans

[14] It may be stated here that some burial mounds found interspersed with effigy mounds are almost certainly the work of tribes later than the builders of the effigies; they are of a less distinctive type and might have been built by other tribes. Some of them must have been erected after the coming of the French, for articles of European manufacture have appeared in a number of tumuli. See Peet, *Prehistoric America,* volume 2, *passim.*

[15] Radin, "Some Aspects of Winnebago Archeology," in *American Anthropologist,* 13: 517 ff.

may have been occasioned by the invasion of these powerful northern neighbors.

The Algonquian, one of the largest and most important of Indian families, probably originated in the north Atlantic region, but its tribes were distributed over so extensive a territory that it is almost impossible to designate a common home. Algonquians were in Canada, from Hudson bay and Newfoundland on the east to modern Alberta on the west, in that part of the United States that stretches from the seacoast of Maine and North Carolina across the three upper Great Lakes and extends southward through the modern states of western Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to Kentucky and central Tennessee. Had it not been for the Iroquoian tribes holding dominion over Lakes Erie and Ontario and in the Mohawk valley — in earlier days along both shores of the St. Lawrence — Algonquian supremacy would have been complete from upper Canada and Kentucky to the Atlantic. With so large a territory and such a wide variety of tribes involved and with evidence so scanty it is difficult to trace any accurate sequence of migrations in prehistoric times. The solution of this complex problem is not required by this narrative; sufficient will be a survey of the particular tribes which were of significance in the Illinois territory.

It must be borne in mind that the Algonquians at no time populated the Mississippi valley so densely as they did the Atlantic seaboard, so that considerable freedom of movement was possible for the tribes; and it must also be remembered that, for many years after Jolliet's voyage in 1673, knowledge of the great valley was limited almost entirely to the course of the Mississippi and the two water highways leading to it from Lake Michigan — the Fox-Wisconsin route and the Illinois river route, with its alternative portages from the Chicago or the St. Joseph. Hence the early explorers have left few clues concerning the tribes located at a distance from their route of travel; the tribes may or may not have lived in prehistoric times in the regions where the eighteenth century colonists found them.

All the tribes of the region sustained life by both farming and hunting; for neither occupation was it necessary for them

to seek out watercourses, nor were they attracted to the rivers as means of communication. In fact, many of the tribes which lived along watercourses preferred to travel overland.[16] Any survey by travelers merely along the river routes could not well be other than fragmentary.

In the case of the Shawnee, the southernmost of the Algonquians in the middle valley, the paucity of early detailed information is especially unfortunate. Their chief seat was in modern Kentucky and Tennessee, their villages being situated along the valley of the Cumberland river, always referred to in the writings of contemporaries as the "River of the Chaouanons." Their language is closely akin to the Sauk dialect, and throughout the early historic period they are known to have had friendly intercourse with the Illinois and other neighboring tribes.[17]

Evidences seem to point to a sojourn of the Shawnee in southern Illinois,[18] where have been found the typical stone graves of their workmanship, such as have been discovered in all their habitats, in southern Kentucky, middle Tennessee, and northern Georgia. The graves are coffin-like structures with sides, top, wall, and bottom formed of slabs of limestone or other flat rocks joined together without cement; they vary in size from specimens seven or eight feet long and a yard or so wide, large enough to inclose the full-sized corpse of an adult, to inclosures so small that it is apparent that the flesh must have been removed before burial, according to a custom practiced by numerous Indian tribes. Associated with the skeletons in these peculiar stone coffins are many fragments of pottery

[16] Dartaguiette's journal in Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies.*

[17] A very thorough and scientific study of the Shawnee was made by Professor Cyrus Thomas of the Bureau of American Ethnology; his principal conclusions are embodied in a scholarly treatise, "The Story of a Mound; or, the Shawnees in pre-Columbian Times," in *American Anthropologist,* volume 4. This article is the chief source for the present discussion. See also Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians,* 118 ff. The first proof of the linguistic relations of the Shawnee was given by Truman Michelson in "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report,* 256 ff.

[18] The Shawnee were in the Illinois in the middle of the eighteenth century, a period later than the one here described. See below, p. 187. Most of the Indian tribal names are in form plural. It is, therefore, incorrect to add to them the plural ending. Thus it is proper to say the "Shawnee are," or the "Kaskaskia are."

similar to that of the Cahokia region and, in addition, a wholly new and distinctive type of finely worked shell and copper ornaments.[19]

It may without great hazard be inferred that the Shawnee formed the vanguard of the Algonquian advance into the Mississippi valley from some point north of the Great Lakes. In moving southward they came in contact with more civilized tribes, possibly the builders of the Cahokia mound. These the Shawnee drove out or assimilated, but by this contact with a superior culture the customs of the Shawnee themselves were modified. They adopted the custom of building mounds,[20] learned to make pottery similar to that of the Cahokia people, and took on the characteristic customs of sedentary agricultural life. In the course of time the tide of migration carried some of them to the valley of the Cumberland and some into northern Georgia, but not even after the coming of the whites and the subsequent revolution in all Indian development was the link broken between the Shawnee and the kindred Illinois, Foxes, Sauk, and other tribes of the central Algonquian group who followed them into the great valley.[21]

Of these tribes the Illinois, or, to give them their proper name, the Iliniwek, were easily first in importance and probably also in point of time.[22] Although when the first whites came they had already passed the zenith of their power, they were still far more numerous than any other nation in the territory of the present state; and there is ample indication that they had long dwelt in the land which still bears their name and near the great lake which for years was referred to as the "Lake of the Illinois." Livelihood came easily to them on the fertile

[19] Finds have been reported from Alexander, Gallatin, Jackson, Madison, Monroe, Randolph, Union, White, St. Clair, and Macoupin counties, and even as far north as Hancock and Brown counties.

[20] The Etowah mound in northern Georgia, second in size in the United States to the Cahokia mound and very similar in type, is ascribed by Professor Thomas to the Shawnee, as are also most of the mounds occurring in middle Tennesee and southern Kentucky. Thomas, "The Story of a Mound; or, the Shawnees in pre-Columbian Times," in *American Anthropologist,* volume 4.

[21] The Shawnee and Kickapoo called the Foxes and Sauk their younger brothers. Forsyth, "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox Nations," in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 2: 183.

[22] The *Handbook of American Indians* gives the following derivation of the name: "*Iliniwek,* from *ilini* 'man,' *iw* 'is,' *ek* plural termination, changed by the French to *ois.*"

prairies abounding in game, and they were apparently well advanced toward a state of civilization similar to that of their predecessors of southern stock. The early observers were invariably impressed with the superior refinement of their faces and manners in comparison with those of the tribes of the northern lakes region whose strenuous struggle for existence rendered them more crudely savage.

It seems most probable that the Illinois formed a single tribe when they entered into the possession of the valleys and prairies of the state. As they increased in numbers and scattered over the land, however, they divided into bands, and a number of these subdivisions came to acquire the status of distinct tribes, particularly the Kaskaskia, the Peoria, the Cahokia, the Tamaroa, the Moingwena, and the Michigamea. Other bands failed to achieve, or at least to maintain into historic times, their separate identity and have their place in history only as rarely mentioned names; the Kouerakouilenoux, the Raparouas, the Maronas, the Albivi or Amouokoa, the Chepoussa, the Chinko or Coiracoenatanon, the Espeminkia, the Tapouara, and several other problematical groups appear once or twice in the records and then sink into oblivion.[23]

The bands of the Illinois continued to act together against their common enemies, but their bond of union, throughout historic times, remained kinship rather than a deliberate and formal political alliance comparable to the league of the Iroquois. When understood as a family alliance, the term "Illinois confederacy" is in a general sense an accurate enough designation.

In the heyday of their prosperity, the Illinois probably ranged over almost the entire area of the present state as well as into southern Wisconsin and Iowa. Farthest south were the Michigamea, who may have lived for some time in the region of the American Bottom — where they doubtless came in contact with the Shawnee or other southern agricultural peoples — and then pushed on over into what is now the territory of south-

[23]A well-known example of this subdivision occurred in the case of the Kaskaskia, one of the largest groups of the Illinois; for a long time one of their villages went by the name of its chief, Rouensa, and the band was accordingly sometimes referred to as the Rouensac Indians. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 315.

eastern Missouri and northern Arkansas, in the region of Big Lake, where Marquette found them in 1673. They maintained their separate existence long enough to develop so many variations in language and customs that a number of writers have questioned their kinship with the Illinois — for instance, Marquette did not recognize them as belonging to the same nation. Toward the close of the seventeenth century the Michigamea were driven out of the valley of the Arkansas by neighboring tribes; whereupon they crossed the Mississippi and joined the Kaskaskia, amalgamating with them so easily that there can be little doubt of their close kinship.[24]

The Tamaroa and Cahokia had probably long been inhabiting their seat in the American Bottom where the whites became familiar with them. They were not very numerous in historic times, and had apparently lost much of their virility, either through depletion by war or as a result of their advance in civilization.

The main body of the Illinois in historic times centered in the valley of the river of their name, and it is highly probable that this had been their seat for a considerable period prior to the seventeenth century.

The nearest kin of the Illinois were the Miami, the two being so similar in language and customs that the first impression of the French was that they formed one tribe. The tribes had probably been long separated, however, when first known to the Europeans. Tradition relates that the Illinois and the Miami were associated in their migration from the west, and it may be assumed that the latter took possession of the valley of the Wabash at a very early date. They were split into bands, known in later years as Piankashaw, Eel River, Wea, and others, some of which in time acquired the attributes of

[24] It is possible that there is in their name a hint that at an early day they were in the region around Lake Michigan. The term Michigamea is derived from the Algonquian words *michi*, "great" or "much," and *guma* "water," and with variations was early used as an alternative for the "Lake of the Illinois." It is therefore possible that the group took its name from an early residence in the Lake Michigan region. On the other hand the same term was used to designate Big Lake in Arkansas, near which the tribe was living when first found by Jolliet, and may therefore have been taken over merely in that locality. There is even a possibility that the name came from the tribe's association with the Mississippi, which was sometimes referred to by the Indians as the "great water." *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 597, 856.

separate tribes.[25] Like their kinsmen, the Miami were continually at war with the tribes lying south of the Ohio river, the Cherokee and Chickasaw. This hostility had lasted long and in the beginning of the nineteenth century the Miami declared that they "had no account of any period when there was peace with them."[26]

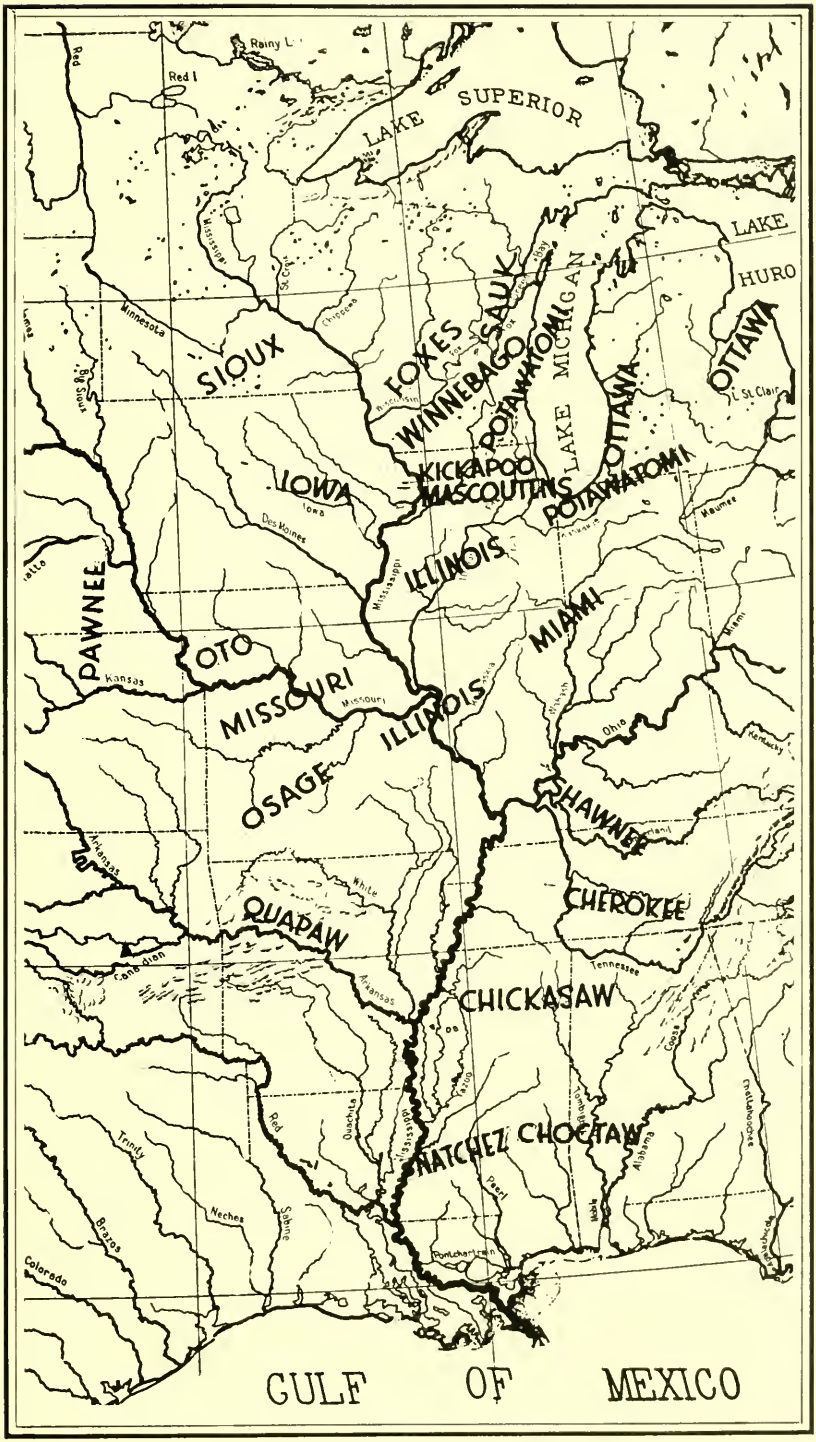
Had Captain John Smith, after the founding of Jamestown, or Samuel de Champlain, after establishing Quebec, led a party of men to the plains of the Illinois, he would have found, then, the upper Mississippi valley controlled by four populous and powerful peoples. Along the Illinois river and the Mississippi lay the Illinois villages with a population larger than it was at any later period in their history; one of the early rumors of these Indians that found its way to the French settlements in Canada in 1657–1659 credited them with sixty villages and a population of some twenty thousand souls, possibly an exaggeration but indicative of their reputation at the time.[27] South of the Illinois villages, possibly not yet all moved across the Ohio, were the Shawnee, and to the east were the large bands of the Miami, ready enough to strike a blow at their kinsmen. The rich prairie land was a possession for which its occupants had to fight, and from all accounts the Illinois were at this early date capable of defending their own. Their most dangerous foes were the Siouan tribes of the west and north, fierce and vigorous, and far outnumbering the Illinois. Their enmity necessitated constant watchfulness and made heavy inroads on the number of Illinois warriors.

The story of one of the wars with a Siouan folk lies on the border line between the historic and the prehistoric; no contemporary record of it was made, but its echo came to the ears of one of the earliest white men among the Indians. In the flood of Algonquian invasion that poured over the Great Lakes region, the Winnebago, of the Chiwere group of Sioux, had by their prowess in war managed to maintain themselves intact

[25] *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:240; Charlevoix, *Journal d'un Voyage,* 145; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 55:201 ff.; Beckwith, *Illinois and Indiana Indians,* 107. It is impossible to locate the Miami definitely before the coming of the French, when these western tribes had been temporarily displaced by the Iroquois wars. See below, p. 37. The British called the Miami "Twightwees."

[26] Harrison, *Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley,* 27.

[27] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 44:247; 45:235.



INDIAN TRIBES ABOUT 1700

in the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, a Siouan island in a sea of aliens, achieving thereby no little prestige. But about the middle of the seventeenth century a long struggle with the Ottawa, who were pressing hard upon them from the east, was followed immediately by a malignant plague; and the double calamity reduced the once redoubtable tribe to about fifteen hundred warriors. The Illinois, so the story goes, were so touched by the misfortunes of their northern neighbors that they sent five hundred men, laden with gifts, as an expression of friendship. Misfortune, however, had not softened the hearts of the Winnebago; they received their guests courteously and arranged a grand celebration, only as a ruse preparatory to a horrible holocaust. "While the Illinois were engaged in dancing the Puans [Winnebago] cut their bowstrings, and immediately flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Expecting retaliation from the kindred of their victims, the Winnebago took refuge on an island, where they thought they would be safe from the Illinois, since the latter did not use canoes. The Illinois, however, after mourning a full year so as to move the "Great Spirit" by their grief, collected a large army in the dead of winter and crossed on the ice to the island. It was deserted, as the Winnebago had departed the day before on their annual hunt, but the Illinois shortly overtook them, surrounded them, and put most of them to death. About one hundred and fifty were kept as slaves for a time and eventually were allowed to return to their own country as the nucleus of a new tribe.[28] But the Illinois had had to pay dearly for their victory; they long felt the losses they sustained in the war.

A few years after this disastrous episode, a still more terrible scourge threatened all the tribes of the valley and lakes region. Far to the east, in the mountain fastnesses of New York, five great Iroquoian tribes, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, had in the course of their wars

[28] For an account of the war between the Illinois and the Winnebago see La Potherie, *History of the Savage Peoples*, in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1:293 ff., and Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 55:183. The date of the war is approximately given by Father Allouez, *ibid.*, 54:237.

with the Hurons and Algonquians of the St. Lawrence region discovered the strength that lies in union, and had — probably about 1570 — banded themselves into a well-organized confederacy that has ever been one of the seven wonders of the Indian world. The advantages of their organization and their early adoption of the white men's weapons, bought from the Dutch of Albany, soon lifted the Five Nations to a position of unequaled power among the aborigines and made their name one to conjure with far and wide. Their energy was first directed against the consanguineous tribes of Hurons, Andastes, and Neutrals around the southern lakes, and these they defeated and destroyed or else forced to seek refuge on the shores of Lake Superior.[29]

The pressure of the Five Nations westward upset the equilibrium that had been established among the tribes after the invasion of the Algonquians by driving from their villages several nations that were to be long connected with the history of the Illinois country. Among these was a group of four tribes, nomadic in character, noted for their warlike disposition and for their long-continued resistance to the white domination. For generations they were to stain red the land of the Illinois with the blood of their enemies. This group had no common name except the indefinite one of Nation of Fire; it was composed of four consanguineous Algonquian tribes, Foxes, Sauk, Mascoutens, and Kickapoo, living between Lakes Huron and Michigan, although some of them may have come earlier from farther east.[30] Their principal enemies were the Iroquoian Neutrals, who in alliance with the Ottawa struck these tribes some severe blows. Their final expulsion from the eastern peninsula of the present state of Michigan was probably due to the wars waged by the Iroquois confederacy. Some time after the middle of the seventeenth century they were forced across to Mackinac and made their way to safety in the territory lying between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, a territory at the time sparsely populated on account of

[29] Perrot, *Memoir,* in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 1:146.

[30] For an interesting mustering of proof that the Foxes were Iroquoian and not Algonquian, see Winchell, "Were the Outagami of Iroquois Origin?" in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings,* 1910-1911, p. 181 ff. The Potawatomi were sometimes called "Nation of Fire."

the terrible punishment inflicted on the Winnebago by the Illinois.[31]

Closely associated with these tribes and experiencing the same fate was another tribe whose activities form a part of the history of the state of Illinois, particularly of that of the shore of Lake Michigan; this was the tribe of the Potawatomi, who probably crossed to Green Bay before the Foxes and their associates. Their ethnic affinity was with the Ottawa and the Chippewa, and the traditions of the three tribes tell of a time when they formed one nation. They had been long separated when first known to the Europeans.[32]

The Iroquois wars proved a disturbing factor among the tribes south of the lakes. It was probably by them that the Miami were driven west and northward into the region of modern Wisconsin at the time when it was being entered from the north by the tribes just described.

The Illinois tribes attempted to stem the westward-spreading tide of Iroquois conquest. In 1655 a band of the Five Nations, as the Iroquois confederacy was called, fell suddenly on one of the small villages of the Illinois and killed the women and children. The Illinois, high-spirited and valorous, immediately assembled their forces, surprised the enemy, and utterly defeated them, very few escaping. "This was the first acquaintance of the Illinoëts with the Iroquois; it proved baneful to them [Iroquois], but they have well avenged themselves for it."[33] Thus began a war lasting till 1667 between the two nations. The strain of meeting the repeated blows, first of the Sioux and then of the relentless Iroquois, was too great; weakened, the once proud and dominant Illinois were obliged to abandon their ancient seat and to seek safety on the west side of the Mississippi.

At the time, then, when the French came in close contact with the western tribes, these latter were in a state of unprece-

[31] *Handbook of American Indians,* 2:471 ff., article on "Sauk."

[32] *Ibid.,* 289 ff. Linguistically, the Potawatomi as well as the Illinois belonged to the Ojibwa group of central Algonquians. Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report,* 261; Michelson, "The Linguistic Classification of Potawatomi," in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 1:450.

[33] Perrot, *Memoir,* in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 1:154 and note, 157.

dented congestion and confusion. The pictures drawn by the earliest explorers of the Green Bay region, therefore, give but an inadequate idea of the normal distribution and mode of life of the Indians of the west.

The half-seen and shadowy events of prehistoric Illinois that have been chronicled may carry the story back to a few generations before the sailing of Christopher Columbus, but they formed only the closing scenes of the generations-old drama that had been enacted on these prairies. Unsatisfactory is the account; the enigmatic monuments, however, forbid the historian to indulge in more specific and more wide-reaching speculation, and he must turn with what satisfaction he can find to the easier task of reconstructing out of more accessible and better-known sources the civilization of the men and women who have here made their homes.

The American Indians form one of the major races of man, distinct in many particulars from their neighbors on the east and west, but at the same time revealing many similarities. The physical characteristics are brown skin, lustrous black hair, hazel to dark brown eyes, and a cranial capacity somewhat smaller than that of the white men. Other features, such as stature, shape of the head, and mental and physiological processes, vary among tribes and individuals as they do among those of other races.[34]

To the whites who first came in contact with them, the Indians appeared to be an enigma, and explorers and missionaries expended reams of paper in trying to explain these singular people; but a difference in mental experience made mutual understanding difficult. The Indians' race experience had evolved in them a consciousness that responded to external stimuli in a way strange to the white men. For them there existed no orderly world responding to the will and law of the omnipotent and benignant God of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europeans; for them there had been no long training by church and state in the doctrines of submission and obedience. The phenomena around them appeared to be the expressions of numberless wills as irresponsible and apparently as free as their own. To the Europeans and the Indians there was no

[34] *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:53 ff.

common meeting ground for a mutual understanding of such terms as law, treaty, honor, and religion; race experience had raised a barrier of confusion.

The tribes in the Illinois country, using this term to designate a more extensive territory than that indicated by the early writers, belonged to the Algonquian stock, with the exception of the Winnebago, whose hunting grounds in later years extended south of the Wisconsin boundary. A description, therefore, of the principal group of tribes, the one that has given its name to the state, will answer in a general way for all; yet it must be remembered that the bands living farthest south had, either from contact with their predecessors or as a result of natural environment, acquired more agricultural characteristics than had the inhabitants toward the north where the climate was less kindly. The difference was, however, merely one of degree and not of kind; and although every tribe had some customs peculiar to itself, they usually bore a fundamental likeness to the customs of their neighbors.[35]

A writer who knew the Illinois well has written the following description: "There never were people better made than they; they are neither large nor small — generally there are some of them whom you can circle with your two hands. They have tapering legs which carry their bodies well, with a very haughty step, and as graceful as the best dancer. The visage is fairer than white milk so far as savages of this country can have such. The teeth are the best arranged and the whitest in the world. They are vivacious, but withal indolent."[36]

The country and the climate disposed them to indolence, for it was not difficult to secure a living; the wealth of wild fruits, berries, and edible roots went far to sustain life even without effort, and game was abundant. Nevertheless, the real staff of life, the year-round food of the Illinois Indians, was maize; and maize was by no means a gratuitous gift of nature, nor were beans, squashes, and other vegetables; hence the cultivation of the soil loomed large in their economy — far larger than has popularly been supposed. Even with

[35] So similar were all the tribes that some early writers classed them all as Illinois.

[36] De Gannes, "Memoir Concernant le Pays Illinois," in Ayer's collection, Newberry Library. On this memoir see below, p. 135, note 37.

the fertile treeless prairies ready at hand, the work of breaking and preparing the ground with implements rudely wrought from stone was highly laborious, and a cornfield once brought under cultivation was not lightly abandoned. Village sites, therefore, took on a degree of permanency which has not always been recognized.[37]

In the summer, after the crops were planted, and again in the winter after they had been gathered and stored in pits in the village, the whole group would move to some spot in a wilder part of the country, often a hundred or more miles away, and set up a hunting camp; here they would spend from six to twelve weeks hunting all kinds of animals which could be made to furnish meat for the kettle, furs for clothing, ornaments for personal decoration, or which, in short, could serve any purpose whatever. The spoils of the hunt would for the most part be prepared for human use on the spot, the meat being cut into thin strips and slowly dried on a wooden rack four or five feet above an open fire; the pelts of the buffalo, deer, bear, and the smaller fur bearing animals were dressed with the hair on if they were to be used as robes, or with the hair removed if they were to be made into any of the dozens of articles the Indian knew how to fashion out of dressed skins.[38] The animals' bones were often utilized in the making of weapons or domestic utensils; the horns and teeth of the elk and deer and various parts of the smaller animals and of birds went to adorn the warriors or to serve some ceremonial purpose; there was scarcely a portion of any animal for which the Indian could not find some use — although if his need for a particular article was not immediate, he felt no necessity of conserving against possible future wants.

If at any time there was a scarcity of meat, the deficiency could be supplied by fish from the rivers or lakes, but as game was usually plentiful the Indians of the Illinois country never developed such prowess as fishermen as was achieved by the northern tribes of the lakes region. "They take little trouble

[37] An excellent illustration of this is seen in the failure of the whites at the time of the Black Hawk War to comprehend what it meant to the Sauk and Foxes to give up their ancient domain in the Rock river valley. See *Centennial History of Illinois*, 2: 157.

[38] For methods of skin dressing see *Handbook of American Indians*, 2: 591.

to make nets suitable for catching fish in the rivers," writes a missionary. "However, when they take a fancy to have some, they enter a canoe with their bows and arrows; they stand up that they may better discover the fish, and as soon as they see one they pierce it with an arrow."[39]

Their weapon for all purposes was the bow and arrow. The bows were simple affairs, and the arrows consisted of long shafts to which were attached the triangular stone heads that are still to be found on the site of many an old Indian village or battlefield. The bow was most important in the world of the Indian; upon his skill in using it depended his livelihood and his reputation as a hunter, and his accuracy was a matter of life or death in war. For the chase as well as for war he supplemented it with clubs and knives; the clubs were of wood, "shaped like a cutlass," with a ball at the end, or of a deer's horn trimmed of all save one or two tines; the knives were of chipped flint, much like the arrowheads but larger. Daggers also were sometimes made from some long bone such as the shank of a deer.

The manufacture as well as the use of these weapons was the peculiar province of the men; the warriors were expected to provide their families with meat and furs and to protect them from all attack; and since hunting was both arduous and dangerous and war a constantly threatening emergency, life was no sinecure. To the women, with the assistance of the old men and children, fell the tasks of preparing food and clothing, tilling the fields, attending to the construction as well as the care of the dwellings, and carrying all the baggage when on the march to and from the seasonal hunting camps. The line between the work of the two sexes was sharply drawn, but it can hardly be said to have been unfair, being based very directly on the necessities of their mode of life.

Their migratory life led the Illinois to evolve two kinds of houses. In the permanent towns they built substantial oblong cabins large enough to house from six to twelve families each; the framework was formed by two parallel rows of saplings bent together and lashed at the top, so as to form a series of arches or loops, and covered with one or more layers of mats

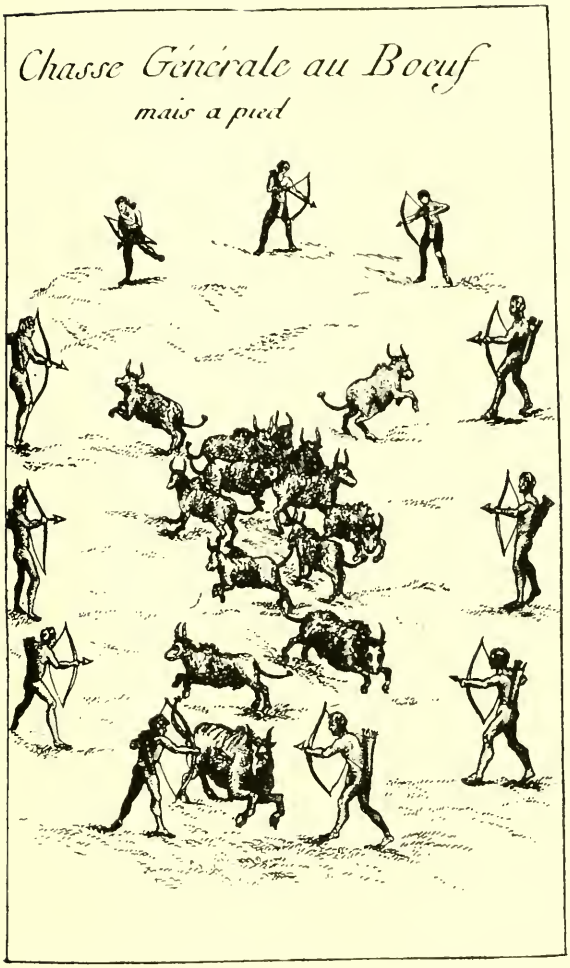
[39] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 67: 171.

made of closely woven rushes, making a dwelling water-tight and warm. There was a door at each end and a strip was left open in the center of the roof for the escape of the smoke from the row of from three to five fires which extended down the center of the lodge. Each of these fires was used by two families; hence a cabin might house as many as fifty or sixty souls. The earth floor was covered with mats, and in some houses there seems to have been a rude platform built out from either wall to serve as a lounging place or as bunks.

For the hunting trips the women prepared a supply of mats which could be easily rolled up and carried in the baggage; when the camp was established, a few poles or stakes were set up to serve as a framework and in a very short time a fairly adequate shelter could be made.

All the lands which were cultivated as well as those on which the tribe hunted were considered the property not of individuals but of the tribe. The crops belonged to the women who grew them, and the spoils of the hunter were turned over to the women of the family as soon as he brought them into camp. All the household equipment, too, was regarded as the property of the women; the men owned merely their own weapons and their clothing. In their unspoiled state the Indians seem to have had a large measure of generosity in their make-up; gifts were exchanged among them on all manner of occasions, and the possessive instinct was never as strong as it later became under the influence of the white man's greed.

Tribal possession of land was a natural enough concomitant of the simple political and social organization of the Illinois Indians. The land had come down by descent from their ancestors, whose bones were preserved in its bosom, and they felt themselves obligated to hand it on to their children and their children's children for countless generations to come. To alienate the tribal title was an inconceivable idea. This absence of a well-developed concept of private ownership of land was long a stumblingblock for a mutual understanding between the Indians and the whites. To allow the whites to use the land was one thing; to cede to them the permanent possession of the land was quite different and to the Indians an act outside of their experience.



INDIAN BUFFALO HUNT
[Reproduced from Le Page du Pratz, *Historie de la Louisiane*]

The tribe, the unit of Indian organization, was merely a large family made up of a number of clans or *gentes,* consisting of blood kindred tracing descent from a common ancestor — usually claimed to be some specific animal, such as a wolf, bear, or fox, which was regarded as the special guardian, or totem, of the *gens.* Members of any group were not permitted to marry within their own clan; and there was no changing of *gens* at marriage by either the man or the woman.

As among other primitive people, the chief governing forces of the Illinois were social opinion and folk custom, and powerful forces they were. The freedom of these prairie children was more a metaphor than a reality; from childhood up they were hedged around by unbreakable custom; habit guided their footsteps, fear of consequences limited their wills. The Illinois, particularly noted for the attention they gave to their tribal customs, lived in unusual peace and accord with one another, social opinion vigorously enforcing uniformity, so that punishment for transgressions was rarely necessary.

The machinery of government evolved for the community was slight, informal, and democratic to a degree almost incomprehensible to the early European observers. Matters pertaining to the family were settled by a family council; affairs pertaining to the clan were settled by a council made up of the heads of the various families within the group; and the problems of the tribe as a whole were threshed out in a council attended by the heads or chiefs of the clans. In each group certain men stood out as leaders, usually because of their own preëminence in valor and sagacity, although sometimes because they were descended from notable parents. These civil chiefs presided at the councils of the various clans and exerted considerable influence in determining the policies of the group, but their power was in no sense absolute nor even assured within a specified field.[40]

Distinct in function from the civil chiefs, whose counsels were powerful in adjusting disputes and determining the policies

[40] It is to be regretted that the early explorers have left extremely scant data concerning the exact organization of the Illinois tribes—probably because it seemed to them so simple as not to warrant mention. The democracy of the Indian tribe was practically out of the range of description by Europeans whose only political concept was that of an absolute monarchy.

of the tribe and clans in peace, were the war chiefs, who rose to prominence purely and simply through capacity for military leadership. The waging of war among the Illinois, as among most American Indians, was largely a matter of individual choice, over which the tribe as a whole had little control; hence the difficulty of making a permanent treaty with any particular group of Indians. To avenge a real or fancied grievance inflicted by a member of another tribe, or merely for the sake of winning glory, a warrior would announce his intention of going on the warpath and would invite any who cared to join him. The opportunity was always present, for practically continuous war existed between the Illinois and their southern neighbors, the Chickasaw and the Cherokee, and their neighbors on the north, the Sioux. If an expedition failed, the leader's reputation suffered; if it was successful, he gained prestige and could more readily rally followers the next time he decided to brandish the tomahawk. Only in this way could a war chief gain his position; although as a man of unusual ability he might in many instances have an important voice in civil councils of the tribe, such influence was not necessarily associated with military leadership.

Large campaigns were always an exception in Indian warfare, and except for a few instances such as the Winnebago war, the fighting of the Illinois consisted chiefly of desultory raids, a primary aim of which was the taking of captives to be kept in the tribe or sold as slaves to other groups. "Ordinarily," says an early Jesuit observer, "their parties consist only of twenty, thirty or forty men; sometimes these parties are of only six or seven persons, and these are most to be feared. As their entire skill lies in surprising their enemy, the small number facilitates the pains that they take to conceal themselves, in order that they may more securely strike the blow which they are planning. . . . . Their method is to follow on the trail of their enemy, and to kill some one of them while he is asleep,—or, rather, to lie in ambush in the vicinity of the villages, and to split the head of the first one who comes forth,—and, taking off his scalp, to display it as a trophy among their countrymen. . . . . For several days this scalp is hung from the top of his cabin, and then all the people of

the village come to congratulate him upon his valor, and bring presents to show him the interest that they take in his victory. Sometimes they are satisfied with making the enemy prisoners; but they immediately tie their hands and compel them to run on before at full speed, fearing that they may be pursued, as sometimes happens, by the companions of those whom they are taking away. The fate of these prisoners is very sad; for often they are burned by a slow fire, and at other times they are put into the kettle, in order to make a feast for all the fighting men."[41]

The cannibalism suggested was probably very rare; the Illinois seem most frequently to have kept their prisoners alive, for they were notorious slave traders. Sometimes the captors chose to regard the captives as substitutes for relatives they had lost and accordingly adopted them, whereupon they became active members of the tribe with full rights and duties.

In spite of a reputation for humane treatment of captives, the Illinois, like other Indians, found pleasure in torturing their prisoners, a custom commonly found among all people in the low stages of development. The slow fire, the pulling of finger nails, and the cutting with knives were spectacles, prolonged for days, in which men, women, and children participated. Cruelty to enemies and stoical patience under suffering were basic principles in the education of Indian children.

The individualism of the Indians which manifested itself so clearly in their form of government and their method of conducting war was also deep-seated in their family life. Children were, almost from infancy, treated as responsible individuals and members of the tribe and grew up with a lack of parental control unusual among whites; corporal punishment was practically unknown. The boys strove to imitate the exploits of their fathers; the girls as a matter of course learned to help their mothers; and they were taught all the traditions and ceremonies of their tribe; but their training was always accomplished more by general public opinion than by direct personal control by the parents. This lack of direction was by no means due to the indifference of the parents, for Indians as a race are known to be particularly fond of their children; it

[41] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:273.

was rather their definite purpose to develop their offspring into self-reliant characters. There was also involved, probably, the idea of the importance of the child as a member of the tribe and clan, which gave him from birth a status which could not be roughly overridden by mere parental authority.

The importance of the place of the children in the community is indicated by the dignified ceremonies imposed by the tribe and clan in the marriage custom. When a young man had proved his prowess as a hunter, he indicated to his parents the girl whom he desired for a wife. The boy was usually about eighteen or twenty and the girl three or four years younger. Up till this time the two had probably not exchanged a word. The parents of the children, with well-developed and unbreakable custom, then conducted the whole negotiation until finally the girl was solemnly led by her relatives and placed on a rug in the new home.[42]

As the women are said to have outnumbered the men four to one, it is not surprising to find that polygamy was common among the Illinois; the only limit set upon the number of wives a man might have was his ability to provide food and clothing for them. A custom very usual among the Algonquians was for a man to espouse the younger sisters of his first wife, a practice no doubt followed to some extent by the tribes of the Illinois. The men were very jealous of their wives and commonly punished them for any infidelity by cutting off the nose; divorce apparently could take place whenever either of the couple desired, but public opinion was rather against such procedure. The chief element in holding any pair together, since the element of affection was in most instances negligible, was the offspring; as the strength and wealth of a clan was measured chiefly by the number of its members, children were an important factor; moreover, since Indian women were not especially prolific and infant mortality was high, a woman with children was not likely to be put away by her husband nor to go unavenged by her relatives if in any way wronged.

The lack of religious significance in marriage is interesting. As a matter of fact, the Illinois were not nearly so much inclined

[42]An excellent account of the marriage ceremony is contained in De Gannes, "Memoir Concernant le Pays Illinois," in Ayer's collection, Newberry Library.

toward religious ceremonies as were the more northern Algonquians, being, as one writer puts it, "too well off to be really pious;" but piety can be ascribed them only in its classical sense as care in the performance of religious ceremonies, for they never connected their beliefs in supernatural powers with moral conduct. To none of their many deities did the Indians attribute moral good or evil. In the development of religious ideas they were in a stage lower than that of the Homeric Greeks; not yet had any of the supernatural powers which they saw in the phenomena around them been divorced from its natural object and endowed with the personality of a god.

People whose ancestors centuries ago emerged from the circle of primitive intelligence and entered into the inheritance of European civilization find difficulty in understanding the spiritual world of the Indians. For the American aborigines the idea of an orderly world did not exist; like young children, they did not expect to find natural causes for phenomena. In their world anything might happen, everything was possible; men visited the sun and moon, passed through numberless transformations, beasts spoke, and the roll of the thunder across the skies was, in the minds of the Illinois, the flapping of the great wings of the "thunderbird." The Indians lived in a myth-made world.

The world known to the Illinois was circumscribed; they knew only the territory watered by the Mississippi and its principal tributaries, and the Great Lakes region; beyond these limits their knowledge was stretched only a little distance by hearsay. Over this world of theirs they saw the sun, the moon, and the stars; they felt the wind, the rain, and the snow, and heard the thunder. Their explanation of nature reproduced this limitation of knowledge. The earth was humanized; it was a person with emotions and passions; it bestowed life on all who fed on it. Objects of the world also were similarly humanized; some had the freedom of motion — such were the bears and deer; but others like the reeds of the swamp, the oaks, and the persimmon trees, had been attached firmly to the earth by some mighty wizard. In like manner the rivers and creeks were men-beings who at times were bound by the spell of the winter magician and ceased their continuous running. All in-

animate objects — stones, streams, trees, hills, the wind, and the sun — possessed a magic power that might be used to aid or harm man and must therefore be propitiated. Indian tribes called this magic power by different names, but by the Algonquians it was named "manitou" or "manito."[43]

The Indians lived in a world of terror, surrounded as they imagined themselves by these manitous, and their lives were struggles to appease the manitou beings and to bribe or compel them to give aid and not to harm. The Indian's trap would not catch animals and his bow would not shoot true unless he had the good will of their manitous; hence to both offerings had to be made, and in the same way the wind, water, and all forces of nature had to be propitiated. In every project of his life the Indian believed himself watched and warned by special protectors, who communicated with him by means of dreams and omens the disregard of which was sure to be attended with the most disastrous consequences. To this belief can be attributed much of the seemingly illogical conduct of individuals and the fickleness and wavering purposes of tribes. A dream, the cry of a bird, the unexpected appearance of some animal, would seem to the Indian a direct revelation and order from a supernatural power.

In the midst of this world filled with animate objects possessing magic power man was helpless without the support and aid of some personal manitou. Hence the principal spiritual experience of the Indian occurred when he won the control of some power as a personal guide. At the age of puberty, the boy withdrew to an isolated place and purified himself by vomiting, bathing, and fasting; he then worked himself into a trancelike state by dancing and often by using drugs, until some manitou appeared and promised to be his guardian.

The missionaries attributed their success in converting the Illinois to christianity to the fact that these prairie Indians believed in a greater manitou, identified by the missionaries as the "Great Spirit." Father Allouez in 1665 wrote: "I have learned . . . . that the Iliniouek, the Outagami [Foxes], and other savages toward the south, hold that there is a great

[43] This magic power is difficult to define. A carefully worded definition will be found in the *Handbook of American Indians*, 2: 147, under "Orenda."

and excellent genius, master of all the rest, who made Heaven and Earth; and who dwells, they say, in the East toward the country of the French."[44] In such language the christian spiritualized the crude creation myth of the central Algonquians; this "great and excellent genius" of Allouez was simply their culture hero, the fabulous great rabbit who had some association with the sun; he it was who created by magic power the earth, covered it with game, and taught his people various crafts. He accomplished his purposes by his magical powers, his trickery, and his powers of deception. The explanation of the great rabbit, the Gitchi Manitou, is to be sought in the Indians' childlike fondness of explaining the origin of objects by a myth rather than in a spiritual significance.[45]

By far the most important of their religious ceremonies was the calumet dance, performed "sometimes to strengthen peace, or to unite themselves for some great war; at other times for public rejoicing," or to do honor to a visiting nation or personage of note.[46] As the name implies, the dance featured the calumet, or ceremonial tobacco pipe, "fashioned from a red stone, polished like marble, and bored in such a manner that one end serves as a receptacle for the tobacco, while the other fits into the stem . . . . a stick two feet long, as thick as an ordinary cane, and bored through the middle."[47] "Less honor," says Marquette, "is paid to the Crowns and scepters of Kings than the Savages bestow upon this. It seems to be the God of peace and of war, the Arbiter of life and of death. It has but to be carried upon one's person and displayed to enable one to walk safely through the midst of Enemies,—who, in the hottest of the Fight, lay down Their arms when it is shown. . . . . There is a Calumet for peace, and one for war, which are distinguished solely by the Color of the feathers with which they are adorned; Red is the sign of war. They

[44] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 113.

[45] This account of the Indians' religion is drawn from the following articles in *Handbook of American Indians:* "Algonquin Family," 1:38 ff.; "Religion," 2:365 ff.; "Mythology," 1:964 ff.; "Popular Fallacies," 2:282 ff., and other articles; Menzies, *History of Religion,* chapter 2; Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man, passim;* Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 55:213 ff.; Jones, "The Algonkin Manitou," in *Journal of American Folk Lore,* 18:183 ff.

[46] Marquette gives a detailed description of the calumet dance as performed in his honor. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 59:125-137.

[47] *Ibid.,* 131.

also use it to put an end to Their disputes, to strengthen Their alliances, and to speak to Strangers. . . . . They have a great regard for it, because they look upon it as the calumet of the Sun; and, in fact, they offer it to the latter to smoke when they wish to obtain a calm, or rain, or fine weather."[48]

The religion of the Illinois was highly individualistic, even the important calumet dance being initiated by any person who cared to begin it rather than by some authorized priest. There was no recognized head of religion nor any formal priesthood; the only approximation is found in the medicine men, who assumed their character and practiced thereafter simply on their own initiative, without organization among themselves and without any special authorization from the tribe. They assumed to have closer connection with the spirit world and the manitous than their fellows, and so undertook to foretell the future, bring luck, cast evil spells, and especially to cure illness. Their method of treatment was usually to play upon the imagination of the patient by pretending to suck forth from his body a bear's tooth or small stone which could be exhibited as the cause of his ailment, or else to handle him so roughly that he would forget his original pain; they always accompanied their ministrations with invocations to their manitous — grotesque dances, chants, frightful contortions, and various juggleries. Another favorite remedy was to order the sick person to give a dance in honor of the sun, who might thus be moved to restore his worshipper to health. "If the sick man happen to die, he [the medicine man] immediately has all ready a trick for laying this death to another cause. . . . . But, on the contrary, if the sick man recover his health, then it is that the charlatan is esteemed; that he himself is looked upon as a *Manitou;* and that, after having been well paid for his trouble, they also bring to him all that is best in the Village, in order to regale him."[49]

The Illinois, like other Algonquians, probably believed in an after world, but the Jesuits who were in the best position to observe their beliefs were obviously so much interested in propagating their own creed that they have preserved slight

[48] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 59: 131.
[49] *Ibid.,* 66: 233-235.

information upon this point. Neither have they left much precise information as to the methods of burial practiced by the Indians, although they do indicate that a variety of methods were used. Sometimes the Illinois wrapped the corpses in skins and placed them on scaffolds in the open air or in the branches of trees to hasten decay and to facilitate the cleaning of the bones, which were later buried; sometimes the bodies were buried at once. It is highly probable that they raised mounds over at least their more important men; and in the southern part of the state they often employed the method of burial in stone graves, there being on record several such burials even after the establishment of the modern white settlement.[50]

The tribes in Illinois in the French period were not nearly so advanced in art as were their predecessors, the southern tribes; they made pottery, to be sure, but it was of a crude sort. The majority of their bowls were made of wood, which accounts for the comparatively small number which have survived. The finest vessels they had were made by cutting away the side and columella of a large conch, but such bowls or cups could of course be obtained in this inland region only by trading, and hence were scarce and very valuable. They used fresh-water shells for the making of smaller cups, spoons, and scrapers; they also made similar articles from wood and horn.

If they had acquired the art of basket weaving, their early visitors failed to mention the fact; there is no doubt, however, that the women had developed considerable skill in the making of mats by sewing together flat rushes with a twine made from bark or vegetable fiber roughly twisted. They had also learned to make a yarn from the fine under-wool of the buffalo and young bear, which they spun by rolling with the palm of the hand on the thigh; this they plaited or wove into sashes, garters, bags, pouches, and similar articles.

The dress of the women was voted modest even by the Jesuit fathers;[51] the men, however, went entirely nude, save for a breechcloth, making up for their lack of garments by painting or otherwise decorating the body with "many panels,

[50] Thomas, "The Story of a Mound; or, the Shawnees in pre-Columbian Times," in *American Anthropologist*, 4: 155 ff.

[51] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 67: 135.

with all sorts of figures, which they mark upon the body in ineffaceable manner. . . . . It is only when they make visits . . . . that they wrap themselves in a cloak of dressed skin with the hair left on, that they may keep warm. They adorn the head with feathers of many colors, of which they make garlands and crowns which they arrange very becomingly; above all things, they are careful to paint the face with different colors, but especially with vermilion. They wear collars and ear rings made of little stones which they cut like precious stones; some are blue, some red and some white as alabaster; to these must be added a flat piece of porcelain [i. e., shell gorget] which finishes the collar."[52] In another place is given the additional information that the men had a peculiar headdress formed by clipping the greater part of the hair and leaving over each ear two long locks, which were arranged "in such order as to avoid inconvenience from them."[53]

Hard as their life seems, viewed by modern eyes, the Illinois fared better than many of their race and were by no means wholly without leisure and means of recreation. Between the strenuous demands of hunting and fighting the men relaxed completely and spent their time in a great variety of games of skill, such as ball, or guessing games, or games of chance played with instruments comparable to dice. Even with their more continuous labor, the women found opportunity to gossip among themselves and to play games. Like most Indians, the Illinois were inveterate gamblers, and men and women alike would often stake everything they owned on a throw of dice. Many of their games, however, had a religious significance, and were played only in connection with some formal ceremony.

Socially they were talkative, good-natured, and fond of a joke, although their extreme dignity of bearing on public occasions often gave observers the impression that they were morose and silent by nature. The ease and persistency with which the French came to intermarry with them certainly suggests that both in disposition and in mode of life there was no very wide gulf between the two races, at least as they encountered each other in the seventeenth-century Illinois. The French may

[52] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 67: 163-175.
[53] *Ibid.*, 55: 207-219.

have been accustomed at home to more refinements and greater cleanliness, but in the wilderness they soon found it impossible to maintain standards much higher than those of the Indians; and in spite of a supposedly more enlightened religion, they were no more amiable, no more honest, no more generous and hospitable, no more loyal to their friends, than were the benighted children of the wilds. If in the course of contact with shrewd traders who befuddled them with a strange fiery liquor and reduced them from economic self-sufficiency to abject dependence, the Indians came to show themselves suspicious, treacherous, greedy, and oftentimes ill-natured and unreasonable, it is not a logical deduction to conclude that the dusky aborigines were an essentially inferior race who deserved nothing better than to be exterminated and driven from the land of their forebears. Yet such was to be the fate of the Illinois; in the struggle for the prairies the better-prepared white men were to conquer. In the state named after them and perpetuating their memory in dozens of names, not one of their race, still less of their tribe, survives; even out of the remnant of the Peoria, who live now in Oklahoma, there is probably not one single full-blooded Illinois Indian left alive.[54]

[54] Report of Truman Michelson and Ralph Linton on field work done among the Peoria Indians for the Illinois Centennial Commission, dated September 26, 1916, in the Illinois Historical Survey. The survivors of the Peoria have intermarried and exchanged customs and folk tales with other tribes, especially with the Sauk, Foxes, and Kickapoo, until they can now furnish but little information as to their ancestors in Illinois.

III. THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

A DESCRIPTION of prehistoric Indian society leaves on the mind an impression of more or less stationary conditions in woodland and on prairie, however careful the reader may be to recollect that violent action and almost constant warfare characterized the life of primitive men. Peace in the forest never reigned, dread lurked in its depths; but, since no chronicler recorded the acts then committed, there are missing the direct touch with personalities and the intimate knowledge of occurrences that make vivid historical visualization. Upon the scene came the white man; his acts of daring and of wrong made articulate the human drama of the wilderness. Recorded history had begun.

The first Europeans to visit the inland valley were the Spaniards. Hernando de Soto. and Vasquez de Coronado, possibly the boldest of the explorers of interior America, traversed the land watered by the lower Mississippi and disclosed to the world the extent of the continent. The Spanish explorers, however, never reached the prairies of the Illinois, and their exploits require here only passing notice. Although the knowledge they gained was set forth on contemporary maps, the memory of these earliest explorations soon became dimmed, for there had been seen no glint of gold and silver to inspire the southerners to further efforts. The Mississippi valley remained practically unknown until its rediscovery by men of other nations.

Not for over a hundred years did England and France seriously challenge the Spaniards' claim to the new continent. In the opening years of the seventeenth century both countries planted their first permanent colonies on the Atlantic seacoast, England in Massachusetts and Virginia, and France in Acadia and Canada. Shut off from the interior by the Appalachian mountains and the Iroquois confederacy, the English were obliged to be contented with a slow advance of their settlements into the west; on the other hand, despite their small num-

bers, the French, controlling excellent water routes to the Great Lakes and thence to the Mississippi, were able quickly to penetrate to the heart of the great valley.

In this relatively rapid occupation of the Mississippi valley several motives inspired the French. First and foremost was the desire for wealth, ever the chief driving force in the winning of the west. The great business of the wilderness was the fur trade with its enormous profits — one hundred, four hundred, sometimes a thousand per cent for a successful expedition. The upper country, as the lakes region and beyond was called, abounded in beavers, minks, lynxes, muskrats, foxes, and other fur bearing animals; and the trader was lured by the hope of profits from one river valley to another, until he was plying his traffic in the depths of the continent.

Naturally many motives other than this predominating economic one were active in the breasts of the men of France. Notably, there was the hope of glory — glory both for France and for the individual. The years of most active exploration were those when Louis XIV was occupying the throne of France and making it glorious by the success of his wars, the influence of his diplomacy, and the splendor of his court. As few others, the *Grand Monarque* understood how to identify in the popular mind his own glory and that of his people. Men acted, even when far distant, as though the eyes of their king were upon them; they saw his gracious look and heard his praise in their visions of a triumphant return to France. Even more powerful than the individual's dream of glory was the view of *la patrie* victorious over rivals. England, Holland, and Spain were all struggling for predominance in North America; great, then, was the pride of the sons who triumphantly bore the lilies of France into the heart of the New World.

Missionary zeal gave still another impetus to exploration. In the seventeenth century not only the state but individuals accepted unquestioningly the duty of converting the heathen, and exploration was esteemed worth while partially because it opened a way for bearing the light of christianity into the dark places of the New World. Although not the only French missionaries in North America, the Jesuits played the leading rôle in this new crusade; and never has the cause of christianity

been served with greater devotion and fearlessness than by the disciples of Ignatius Loyola in the great interior valley. Following close upon the canoes of the fur traders, they endured without complaint, nay rather with rejoicing, the hardships of life among the Indians and were ever ready to suffer cruel torture and even death rather than to give up the work to which they had devoted themselves.[1]

The first westward movement of the French was due largely to the personal influence of Samuel de Champlain, the governor of New France, who was keenly interested in the exploration of the country intrusted to his care. He himself led an expedition in 1615 as far west as Lake Huron; and to aid further discovery, he placed young Frenchmen in various Indian villages to learn the languages of the natives. Among his *protégés* was Jean Nicolet, who had come to Quebec in 1618 and who immediately began his studies of Indian life among the Algonkin, later spending several years among the Nipissing. After he was appointed agent and interpreter, he was sent west in 1634 ostensibly to make peace between the Hurons and the Winnebago, but with the further purposes of extending the fur trade and of seeking a route to China. Accompanied only by Indians, he traveled by canoe the usual route via Lake Nipissing, French river, and Lake Huron. He was the first white man known to have passed through the strait of Mackinac and to have voyaged to Green Bay, where he accomplished his mission. On his return he is reported to have said that "if he had sailed three days' journey farther upon a great river which issues from this lake (Michigan), he would have found the sea." Whatever the passage means, upon it alone rests the knowledge of the extreme west of Nicolet's discoveries.[2]

[1] A by-product of great value to the historian has come from the work of the Jesuits. They were compelled by their order to make reports of their activities to their immediate superior in Quebec, and he in turn drew from these to make his report to the superior in Paris. These were published and are known as the *Jesuit Relations*. A most excellent edition of them has been published in seventy-three volumes by the late Reuben Gold Thwaites. See introduction in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 1.

[2] The passages upon which rests the knowledge of Nicolet's discoveries are found in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 18:233, 237; 23:275 ff. For discussion see Sulte, *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 426 ff.; Butterfield, *Discovery of the Northwest by Jean Nicolet;* see also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 8:188 ff.; 9:1 ff.; Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, introduction to Nicolet's voyages.

For many years after the western exploration of Nicolet the French made no progress in their knowledge of the region. Before other men could follow in his footsteps there intervened a war of many years with the Iroquois confederacy. Hostilities continued almost incessantly until 1667, entailing during the entire period the most severe trials upon the French colonists of the St. Lawrence valley. All their outposts in the west were abandoned, and at times the existence of Montreal itself was endangered.

During this long period of almost continuous warfare there took place that important shifting of the Indian tribes in the lakes region, which has been described in the previous chapter, so that, when the Frenchmen again made their way to Green Bay, they discovered conditions in the region very different from those reported by Jean Nicolet. Where he had found the powerful tribe of the Winnebago, they met many tribes, with which French history was to be closely entwined, crowded into the narrow space between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river; in one report twenty thousand Indians were said to have been gathered in one village.[3] Such a congestion pressing hard upon the food supply could not endure; a readjustment was inevitable, and no sooner was the fear of the Iroquois lifted than the tribes began an exodus southward. The Illinois, most of whom had fled before the scourge of the west to the far bank of the Mississippi river, returned to their former homes in the valley of the river which bears their name. The Miami and Mascoutens followed the western shore of the lake and gradually extended themselves over the territory stretching south and eastward. By 1681 one band of Miami had already reached the St. Joseph river, while others were still in the vicinity of modern Milwaukee. About the same time the Foxes moved down to the Fox river (Wisconsin) valley.[4]

Even during the period of the Iroquois war the French were able to reopen for a moment the fur trade in the west. Some time between 1654 and 1663, two of the boldest and most successful fur traders, Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers,

[3] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:94.

[4] *Ibid.*, 16:99 ff.; Tonti's memoir in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 294 ff.; Hennepin, *New Discovery* (ed. Thwaites), 1:123, 130, 143.

and his brother-in-law, Pierre d'Esprit, sieur de Radisson, made two journeys to the west and possibly reached the Mississippi river. They skirted the southern shore of Lake Superior and visited the country of the Sioux.[5] From this time on the number of bush rangers, or *coureurs de bois,* making their way into the west rapidly increased; and after peace with the Iroquois was finally established in 1667, they departed from Montreal in ever-increasing numbers and penetrated into the remotest west in quest of furs.

These pioneers of western trade, frequently unlettered, have left no formal reports nor literary accounts of their wanderings, yet in almost every instance they preceded or accompanied those whose names history has immortalized as the true discoverers. *Coureurs de bois* preceded the Jesuit missionaries to Lake Superior; they were found by the first missionary at Green Bay; and Father Marquette, the founder of the Illinois mission, found French traders on the upper Illinois in 1674. They learned to love the free life of the wilderness; the lure of the wild enthralled them; and, above all, the hope of speedy profits led them on. Eventually, outlawed by the king's edict prohibiting their trade, disappointed in their hope of wealth, and accustomed to the new life, they settled in the Indian villages and began unconsciously and almost imperceptibly the French dominion of the northwest.

The missionaries were not far behind even the most venturesome traders and soon reëstablished their missions among the tribes of the Great Lakes. In 1669 Father Claude Jean Allouez was on Green Bay; Sulpician missionaries from Montreal founded a mission on Lake Ontario, and two of their order explored Lake Erie and traversed the Detroit strait.[6]

The period had arrived when the French government was to devote to its over-sea dominions some thought and care. In the early years, New France had been watched over with solicitude by Cardinal Richelieu, but he later became absorbed in the international complications of the Thirty Years' War, and New France was almost forgotten. His successor, Cardinal

[5] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 29 ff.

[6] Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements,* 1:112 ff.; also in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 167 ff.

Mazarin, had found little time during his troublesome struggles with the *Fronde* and the complexities of the international situation to promote colonial interests. It remained for the period of the personal administration of Louis XIV to inaugurate the colonial policy that was to make France a power to be reckoned with in America. The king was not a man of great genius, but he was ambitious to make his reign the glory of France, and to accomplish this he looked toward new fields of endeavor for his people. He had imagination to visualize a great empire in America and the persistency to push at every favorable moment the interests of the French colonies; but, unfortunately for the far-away experiment, his attention became fixed too frequently on European politics. War after war was to ruin promising beginnings.

The minister who possessed the foresight to propose the imperial policy and the confidence to promote it in spite of constant petty court intrigues was Jean Baptiste Colbert, in many ways the greatest of French ministers. During the first ten or twelve years of his power, he initiated reforms in law, in finance, and in manufacture, commerce, and agriculture which wrought revolution in the life of France. Had the country been vouchsafed peaceful development, it would have been raised to the height of prosperity. As it was, commercial and industrial centers became active, and the whole country felt for a few years the quickening pulse of new life, finding expression in art and literature that has made the "age of Louis XIV" known for all time.

Colbert was not simply an efficient administrator and a man of business; he was also a man of imagination. Fired by the accounts of the early explorers in America, he declared Magellan's idea of circumnavigating the globe "the boldest and most extraordinary that had ever entered the mind of a man."[7] The idea of a colonial empire, therefore, easily found lodgment in his mind and germinated into action.

The colonial policy which Colbert announced in 1664 as a part of his extensive reform of the national industry, trade, and commerce inevitably was founded on paternalism and monopoly, the two leading ideas controlling the French com-

[7] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, 7 (1) : 233. The whole chapter should be read.

mercial undertakings during the seventeenth and well down into the eighteenth century. The minute oversight of the colonial affairs left nothing to the initiative of the settlers. Their goings and comings, their marriages and births, their occupations and their religious exercises, were regulated by a beneficent monarch with a belief in his omniscience.

The other foundation of the colonial policy, monopoly, was no less all-embracing. The most successful trading country of Europe at the time was Holland, and its success seemed to rest upon great trading companies with monopolistic rights; it was no wonder that France should utilize a similar method. Colbert in later years became skeptical of the wisdom of monopoly, but not so his successors; France till the end of its experiment on the continent of America never completely freed its colonies from a system that crushed the initiative of individuals by a too close supervision and stunted their energy by robbing them of the hope of financial rewards. On the other hand, this centralization of power imparted to French America a strength out of all proportion to the number and wealth of the colonists.

Colbert's first experiment in colonization was built around the West India Company, to which was granted wide power in all the over-sea dominions. War and financial factors brought failure to the company, which never exercised much real authority in New France, though many vexatious enactments in its interest were passed. It has significance in this narrative chiefly because the renewed activity in the northern colony was contemporaneous with the founding of the company and the inauguration of many commercial reforms in France.[8] Though for a few years a gallant effort was made to support the West India Company, by degrees the futility of monopoly became evident, and by 1672 the company had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. Canada then became a royal province; the change was completed by 1674, but brought few alterations in the actual machinery of colonial control.

It was during these years, 1664 to 1674, that the true beginnings of the exploration and occupation of the west occurred.

[8] Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy*, 68 ff., 176, 181; Clement, *Histoire de Colbert*, 170 ff.; Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, 7 (1):254; Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces*, 2:464 ff.

For the first time a complete civil government of New France was inaugurated. The beginning of discovery is indissolubly connected with the name of one of the new officials, who proved himself one of Canada's greatest civil officers, the intendant, Jean Talon. He received his appointment a year after the creation of the West India Company, and his advice was of weight in the final decision to dissolve the company and to encourage the trade of individuals.

Talon shared Colbert's vision of a French empire in America, and soon after his arrival he planned expeditions to discover the territory which might become a greater France.[9] In accordance with Talon's plans, though he was in France, there was sent out in 1669 an expedition to Lake Superior, led by Louis Jolliet. He returned by way of Lake Erie, thus becoming the discoverer of that lake. In the next year, at Talon's orders, Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle, undertook to explore the regions south of the lakes, but he accomplished little or nothing.[10] A third expedition of romantic interest proceeded in the same year under Simon François Daumont, sieur de St. Lusson, to the lakes region. He had been selected by the French government to hold a great meeting with the Indian tribes and to perform a significant act. Sault Ste. Marie was the romantic and historic spot chosen for the scene; it unites the territory stretching from Lake Superior to the mysterious region of Lake Winnipeg with the territory around Lake Michigan and the Mississippi valley, and connects both with the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence.

At this significant meeting place representatives of fourteen Indian tribes assembled on June 14, 1671, to witness a solemn ceremony, half religious, half civil, which could scarcely have conveyed to the children of the wilderness an intelligible impression. After an address by Father Claude Allouez eulogizing the greatness of the *Grand Monarque,* the country and all adjacent regions were declared to be in the possession of

[9] *New York Colonial Documents,* 9: 63, 70, 89.

[10] Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac,* 15. La Salle had during the previous year made on his own account an exploratory expedition with two Sulpicians, Gallinée and Dollier, but owing to ill health, he was obliged to return without accomplishing anything. For a discussion of La Salle's supposed discovery of the Ohio on this expedition see below, p. 78.

King Louis XIV. Let all nations forbear from trespassing thereon!

The ceremony marked the auspicious opening of a great era of discovery. The immediate incentive to explore arose from the Indians' accounts of a great western river which they called the "Great Water," or "Missipi," as it was first transcribed by Father Allouez. It was the determination of Jean Talon to explore this river and at the same time to find a route to the western sea — that rainbow dream which was ever before the eyes of official and explorer. He chose as leader for this important mission an experienced explorer and able leader of men, Louis Jolliet.[11] He was born in Quebec in 1645, and attended the Jesuit school in his native village, where he was well educated in the higher branches, becoming particularly proficient in the art of surveying and map making. He was not engrossed, however, by practical studies; he became a musician and in later years played the organ in the cathedral of Quebec. He took minor orders while still in school, but finally decided to forego the priestly calling and to follow that of fur trader and explorer. The friendly relations with the Jesuits, thus early formed, were maintained throughout his life; he was always regarded by the members of that order as their especial representative in the field of discovery. Twice he had visited Sault Ste. Marie before 1672 and, although only twenty-seven years old, had won a deserved confidence in his qualifications for leadership and his knowledge of the Indians. A contemporary wrote of him: "He has Courage to dread nothing where everything is to be Feared."[12]

Accompanying Jolliet as chaplain of the expedition was one of the most zealous idealists in the annals of Illinois, Father Jacques Marquette of the Order of Jesus. He was born in Laon in 1637, entered the Jesuit order in 1654, and was sent to Canada in 1666. Three years later he replaced Allouez at the mission on the Chequamegon bay, and in 1671 he built the mission of St. Ignace at Mackinac, where he contentedly performed his priestly duties in "a rude and unshapely chapel, its

[11] He spelled his name thus instead of "Joliet" as perpetuated in the Illinois city named after him.

[12] The best account of Jolliet is to be found in Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet.* See encomium of him in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 59:89.

sides of logs and its roof of bark." The only attendants were the miserable savages and a few fur traders.[13] The external chronicle of his life, however, gives no hint of the development of the soul of the man. The sacrifice of all earthly pleasures and honors in the service of his fellow men was his sole guide. A rich opportunity came when he was ordered to the far western mission of New France. In a very true way his innermost life is summed up in Dablon's introduction to Marquette's own narrative of the exploratory expedition under Jolliet: "The Father had long premeditated this undertaking, influenced by a most ardent desire to extend the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to make Him known and adored by all the peoples of that country."[14]

It was not the intendant, Talon, however, who was to have the honor of sending the explorers to the Mississippi, but the Comte de Frontenac, who came to Canada as governor in 1672. He continued the policy which Talon had inaugurated, making no change in the personnel of the proposed expedition.

Jolliet and Marquette spent the winter of 1672–1673 at Mackinac, where their simple preparations were quickly made. For provisions they took only Indian corn and smoked meat. They made inquiries from the Indians concerning their route and even traced out a map of the region.[15] On May 17, 1673, with five men, they embarked in two canoes for the long voyage into the unknown.[16] As far as the Mascoutens' village on the Fox river near the Fox-Wisconsin portage the explorers voyaged without fear, for the route had already been made known by former adventurers. The Indians on the banks of the Fox river tried to persuade them to forego their undertaking by

[13] Thwaites, "The Story of Mackinac," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 14:6.

[14] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 227.

[15] For an effort to identify this map see Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map Possibly Identified," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1906. Miss Kellogg informs me that she is now not so certain of this identification, but personally I am satisfied with her conclusion.

[16] For the history of this expedition consult the accounts drawn from Jolliet: in Dablon's report of August 1, 1674, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 58:93 ff., and in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:262 ff.; in an anonymous account, *ibid.*, 259 ff. Jolliet's own account is reproduced on his map in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59:86; Frontenac's report of November 11, 1674, in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:257; Marquette's journal in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59:86 ff.

picturing unavoidable dangers — Indians without mercy to strangers, a dangerous river filled with horrible monsters which devoured both men and canoes, a demon still more terrible, and finally heat that would scorch them to death.

Undeterred, they proceeded on their way, crossed the portage between the upper Fox and Wisconsin rivers guided by two Miami Indians and, on June 17, entered the Mississippi "with a joy I cannot express," writes Father Marquette. They passed down the river almost without incident, meeting none of the hardships prophesied by the Indians. Human inhabitants were first sighted at some Illinois villages on the west side of the river in the present state of Iowa. About June 20 the explorers were skirting the river banks of the land that the future was to know as Illinois. Father Marquette was interested in the Indians who have given their name to the state and devoted several pages of his narrative to an account of their manners and customs and even quoted the words and music of one of their songs.[17] The canoes passed the mouth of the Missouri, the famous Piasa rock, and the mouth of the river Ohio; they continued southward to about the latitude of the Arkansas river. Certain now that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Gulf of California, and fearing both the southern Indians and the Spaniards, they determined to return.

On July 17 the homeward journey was begun. Probably in accordance with a previous plan, they returned by the Illinois river. Here they first realized the extent and fertility of the prairies. The leader, Jolliet, and his companions, like many later observers, were at first deceived in regard to the character of the soil by the lack of trees and shrubs; investigation soon convinced the young leader of its fertility and fitness for crops, and he pronounced the river valley "the most beautiful and most suitable for settlement." He later told his friends that "a settler would not there spend ten years in cutting down and burning the trees; on the very day of his arrival, he could put his plow into the ground." "Thus he would easily find in the country his food and clothing."[18]

[17] The chant and music are printed in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59:311.
[18] *Ibid.*, 58:107.

The voyagers passed into the Des Plaines river and over the portage to the Chicago; close by was a village of seventy-four cabins of the Kaskaskia Indians, who secured a promise from Father Marquette to return and instruct them.[19] The journey to Green Bay by way of Lake Michigan passed without incident. Here Jolliet left his companion, who was enfeebled by sickness, and journeyed to Montreal. When almost in sight of the village, his canoe capsized and all his papers were lost. Thus of his carefully kept journal the historian is deprived; for information he is limited to Jolliet's memories and the journal of the accompanying priest.

The great river he had discovered Jolliet christened first "Buade," in honor of the family name of the Comte de Frontenac; later he called it "Colbert," for the great French premier. His companion, Father Marquette, named it in commemoration of the Immaculate Conception, but none of the names have been able to compete with that by which the children of the forest had so long called it, "Mississippi, the Great Water."[20]

Jolliet was delighted with the ease of the navigation from the Mississippi valley to the lakes region and saw in it the hope of realizing his dream of a prosperous colony. Having traveled previously through the southern lakes to the St. Lawrence, he now thought that he had discovered an easy means of travel and transportation from Canada to the valley of the Illinois and thence to Florida. A bark, he said, could be sailed from Lake Erie through the lakes to the lower end of Lake Michigan, where a canal through "but half a league of prairie" would admit the vessel to the water system of the great valley.

This plan of a communication between the two great water systems by way of the Chicago river has been a vision seen by many statesmen from Jolliet's day down to the present time; but to Jolliet belongs the honor of first proposing it, and to him also must be ascribed the glory of first visualizing the future greatness of the country of the Illinois. In the drama

[19] Probably the village was near the present site of Utica rather than at the portage, as Father Marquette states. Parkman, *La Salle,* 65; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 59:314, note 42.

[20] On his first map Jolliet called the river "Buade," but on his second, "Colbert."

of Illinois civilization, now almost two centuries and a half old, Louis Jolliet's name stands first in the list of *dramatis personae,* for he appeared first on the stage and as herald announced to the world the coming birth.

IV. THE GREAT GOVERNOR AND HIS OPPONENTS

FATHER MARQUETTE kept his promise to return to the Indians.[1] His poor health detained him at Green Bay over a year, but, feeling stronger in the fall of 1674, he started with only two companions on the return voyage. He was soon joined by a band of Illinois Indians, who conducted him on the way. The party was frequently delayed by bitter cold and contrary winds, so that it did not reach the Chicago river until December 4. Here the father, too weak to undergo the fatigues of further travel, decided to spend the winter. Already the *coureurs de bois* were making use of the Des Plaines portage, and they gave Father Marquette all the assistance in their power. He writes of his sojourn at Chicago as follows: "The blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering that we have not lacked provisions, and have still remaining a large sack of corn, with some meat and fat. We also lived very pleasantly, for my illness did not prevent me from saying holy mass every day."[2]

At the break-up of winter he again took up the voyage and was received at the village of the Kaskaskia "as an angel from Heaven." A description of this first mission in the country of the Illinois declares that Marquette preached in the open air in a large prairie where were gathered to hear him five hundred chiefs and elders, who were seated in a circle around the priest, and one thousand five hundred men besides women and children. This service occurred on Good Friday; on Easter, Marquette performed a second service and named the mission the "Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin."

So frail was he now that he could no longer delay his return journey. This time he made his way by land around the southern end of Lake Michigan. Gradually his strength ebbed, and

[1] For Marquette's return to the Illinois, see his journal in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59: 165 ff., and a second account on page 185.

[2] *Ibid.*, 181.

his companions were obliged to carry him. Through it all Marquette maintained the gentle and joyous spirit characteristic of him. On May 18, 1675, he died in the midst of the wilderness where he had served. His companions had carried him on his northern journey to the mouth of the Marquette river in the present state of Michigan. His biographer writes of him: "He always entreated God that he might end his life in these laborious missions, and that, like his dear St. Xavier, he might die in the midst of the woods, bereft of everything."[3] His desire had been fulfilled.

The romantic story of Father Marquette's last missionary journey and death is one of peace, hope, and love, undisturbed by the strife of political factions and unsullied by the sordid touch of business. Yet the act of this zealous altruist was in a sense the prelude of a long struggle between the protagonists of rival interests, the opening act of political antagonisms that were to shake the foundations of the French colony and to be fought out acrimoniously at the court of the king.

The exploration of the territory south of the Great Lakes extended the field for rivalry among the contending factions. Toward this rich territory fur traders and missionaries turned their eyes; the right of exploiting its people and its peltries, the monopoly of trade and missions, was the stake. The Jesuits had represented the matters of the spirit in Jolliet's canoe, had quickly established the first mission, and might, therefore, hope to win a favorable decision. Nevertheless, influential rivals were soon to dispute their sole enjoyment of preaching and martyrdom in this far country. The issue over the right of exploiting the material wealth was at the moment, however, more vital. Who should be the leader in the development of the land of the Illinois? The politics of New France seethed with the excitement of the contest. Intrigue, forgery, bribery, and vituperation, all were employed by the various seekers of fortune.

The outbreak of party strife was contemporary with the arrival in New France of the man who most completely grasped the significance of the west. By the magnitude of his plans and

[3] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 59:205. Later a band of Indians conveyed his bones to Mackinac, where they were finally interred.

by the boldness of his execution the new governor, Louis de Buade, comte de Frontenac, was to impress his personality on the whole continent for years to come. The grandeur of his vision and the forcefulness of his character arouse the historian's imagination and secure for the doughty governor appreciative sympathy in his struggle with natural forces and human opposition. With the population of New France, which numbered only 6,705 in 1674, he prepared to occupy the Mississippi valley and to hold it against the rapidly increasing British population along the Atlantic seaboard. He selected the Illinois country to represent his imperial aspirations; on its prairies he would establish the new frontier; the possession of it by his agents was to be the first move in the attainment of his object. Mingled with this imperial aspiration for France was the hope of financial gains for himself and his friends; the fur trade of this new territory offered a rich opportunity for the promoter.

Every move by the governor encountered strenuous opposition from a cleverly led and well-organized party. Early in the history of the French colony, the Jesuits had been granted special privileges in conducting the missions among the Indians, and they had proved themselves both adept in adjusting themselves to the new conditions and zealous in the prosecution of their duties. When Frontenac arrived in the colony, the only posts in the lakes region were those erected by these fathers for the purpose of carrying on their missionary labors. These posts naturally became centers for the congregation of the fur traders, particularly of those who were friends of the missionaries. From this association there grew up a partnership and this in turn became a party composed of the Jesuits and the leading merchants of New France. Their object was the maintenance of the monopoly of the fur trade in the territory around the Great Lakes. There can be no doubt that the religious order drew a profit from the partnership, since the Jesuits have always proved themselves thrifty and shrewd in the handling of their property.

Both merchants and priests cherished the desire to transfer their operations to the region south of the lakes, the Jesuits to convert the heathen, the merchants to enjoy the profits of the trade. It was doubtless with the encouragement of the Jesuits

that Jolliet petitioned for the privilege of founding a colony of twenty inhabitants in the Illinois country. By natural endowments of heart and head and by his commercial and political associations he was well qualified for such an undertaking. His success would have meant the transference of the trading conditions existing in the north to the southern territory. Governor Frontenac, having his own plans, opposed the scheme; and, since the court believed that "it was necessary to multiply the inhabitants of Canada before thinking of other lands," the petition was refused.[4]

The association of the Jesuits with the fur traders, whether in the region of the Great Lakes or in that of the Illinois, was dictated by the policy of opportunism, not foreign to the thought of these educated men of the world; but it was far from satisfying the wishes of their more zealous leaders, who had already formulated their plans for the establishment in the heart of North America of a great christian state, wherein the aborigines should dwell in Arcadian simplicity under the tutelage of the Jesuits and without the contaminating influences of the traders. Marquette's mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskia had laid the foundation. The experiment of such a state had already been started in distant Paraguay; why not a second Paraguay in the upper Mississippi valley?

The idea of the Jesuits was deeply imbedded in humanitarian feelings. Already they had seen the harmful effects upon the Indians of the contact with that most licentious class of white men, the *coureurs de bois*. These should be prohibited from entering the Indian state, but for purposes of trade the Indians would transport their furs to the white settlements. This dream of the Jesuits was never very near to realization, but the principles in which it originated formed for years the platform of their fight with the civil officials of New France, and in particular with the Comte de Frontenac; they worked persistently for an order from the court prohibiting fur traders from going to the west and at times were successful; they protested even more strenuously against the sale of liquor to the Indians.

[4] Jolliet received later the cession of the large and strategically situated island of Anticosti, where he found sufficient outlet for his powers. He became one of the foremost citizens of New France. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:324 ff.; Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, 201.

How far justified the Jesuits were in their opposition to the brandy trade with the Indians may be learned from the following description by a writer in 1705: "Experience as old as the Colony teaches us that they (the Indians) drink it only to intoxicate themselves, without having ever been able to understand by what fatal charm the surprising effect can be produced. The village or the cabin in which the savages drink brandy is an image of hell: fire [i. e., burning brands of coals flung by the drunkards] flies in all directions; blows with hatchets and knives make the blood flow on all sides; and all the place resounds with frightful yells and cries. They bite off each other's noses, and tear away their ears; wherever their teeth are fixed, they carry away the morsel [of flesh]. The father and the mother throw their babes upon the hot coals or into the boiling kettles. They commit a thousand abominations — the mother with her sons, the father with his daughters, the brothers with their sisters. They roll about on the cinders and coals, and in blood." [5]

The governor's party was willing enough to acknowledge the demoralizing effects of brandy on the Indians but nevertheless was able to formulate an argument difficult for the Jesuits and their adherents to answer effectively. If the Indians did not drink French brandy they would carry their furs to Albany and purchase English rum — equally demoralizing in this world; further, mixed with the English intoxicant, the children of the forest would imbibe Protestant heresy and endanger their souls for eternity. The dilemma was always a disturbing element in every serious effort to enforce a royal prohibition of the brandy trade.

The principal difficulty arose, of course, from the self-interest of the traders, a motive too strong to be stopped by the distant voice of king or the thundering of church. Brandy made the cheating of the Indians easy and brought enormous profits. There were cases of the purchase of three thousand dollars' worth of peltries with a cask of brandy worth about forty dollars.[6]

[5] This is from an anonymous memoir quoted in a long note in Blair, *Indian Tribes*, 1:208, from which, and p. 228, note 164, this account of the *coureurs de bois* is drawn.

[6] *Ibid.*, 208, note 148; Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and its Provinces*, 2:467.

The government's solicitous supervision of the Indians and its equally anxious oversight of the morals of the French colonists imposed the necessity of regulating the activities of the *coureurs de bois,* whose numbers were increasing out of all right proportion to the number of settlers. Even Frontenac, with his belief in expansion, was disturbed by this feature of colonial life. He reported that the royal regulations were altogether ineffective. In 1673 the people were forbidden on pain of their lives to go into the woods for twenty-four hours without permission, and three years later the issue by the governor of permits to trade was prohibited. The only effect was to make a very large number of Frenchmen outlaws in the west, where they were supported by their friends and were able to divert the fur trade to the British at Albany.[7]

Absolute prohibition having failed as a cure, the king in 1681 tried the experiment of allowing the governor to issue a limited number of royal permits, twenty-five.[8] These *congés* were distributed to noble families and to colonists whom the government wished to recompense. They constituted a form of property and were either used by the original possessors or sold to others.[9]

In the end this and all other attempts to regulate the traffic of the *coureurs de bois* failed, because in the primeval forest trade could have been limited only by a powerful and all-pervading government or by a strongly organized company, neither of which existed in French America. Fleets of canoes departed from Montreal either in early spring or in the middle of September, each canoe manned by a crew of three *voyageurs,* as the canoe men were called. Provisions were scanty, for these men of the west counted on their skill with the gun; but game frequently failed them in the dead of winter, and death by cold and starvation always threatened. The journey they

[7] Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, in *New York Colonial Documents,* 9:90; king to Frontenac, April 15, 1676, *ibid.,* 126; Duchesneau to minister, November 10, 1679, *ibid.,* 131; Duchesneau to minister, November 13, 1680, *ibid.,* 140 ff. These two last accused Frontenac of conniving with the *coureurs de bois.* See also Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces,* 2:473.

[8] Frontenac to king, November 2, 1681, in *New York Colonial Documents,* 9:145. The *congés* were issued first in the spring of 1682.

[9] Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 1:228, note 164; Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America* (ed. Thwaites), 1:101.

made was hard and toilsome. Innumerable portages, often miles in length, intervened in the thousand of leagues they traveled; around these they carried their canoes, provisions, and merchandise. In the rapids they jumped into the frigid water to push their canoes against the current, often cutting their bare feet on the sharp rocks. Arrived at the Great Lakes, the fleet of canoes separated into smaller parties to follow by the river courses the Indians to their winter hunting grounds, where the actual exchange of merchandise for furs took place; then back to Mackinac, always the rendezvous for the far western fleet, where furs were sorted and preparations made for the long return trip to Montreal. Here at last came months of leisure, often spent in gambling, drunkenness, and general debauchery. Through it all, both in work and in play, the *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois* maintained a joyous, persevering, and in general uncomplaining nature that has made them the ideal leaders of the white advance across the continent.[10]

One degenerating influence upon the Indians of this contact, which the Jesuits did not stress greatly, was of very real importance. Before the coming of the whites the Indians formed self-supporting communities and supplied by their own hands all their needs. They made their own weapons, their own utensils, their own clothing; but within a few years after their first contact with the Europeans they had sunk to the state of economic dependents. Hunting, which once had been pursued for food and the needs of covering alone, became a trade, upon the success of which the very life of the Indian communities depended. Guns, shot, and powder, pots and pans, blankets, and in later years, even their currency, wampum, could be supplied only by their taskmasters who operated deep in the wilderness beyond the judicious control of a beneficent government.

The plans of the Comte de Frontenac to expand both the trade and the settlements were diametrically opposed to those of the Jesuits. Frontenac was not irreligious, rather the reverse; but neither he nor any of his lieutenants, such as La Salle, was inspired by any missionary zeal. Although the governor employed the Recollects as chaplains, he gave them no encourage-

[10] Cadillac gives a very vivid picture of these *coureurs de bois* in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 5:83 ff.

ment to work among the Indians. The expansion of trade and the development of the empire dictated his policy toward the Indians and the west. To exploit the aborigines to gain wealth and to assimilate them into the white population for purposes of government were the keynotes of his actions. The tribes were pawns in his commercial and imperial game; and in this he was at one with the fur traders, to whom red men were but trappers of game.

Another obstruction to the carrying out of Frontenac's policy was the opposition of the minister, Colbert. The latter's admiration for the deeds of the early discoverers did not blind him to the evident needs of a weak colony; and these needs were depicted for him in eloquent words by the Jesuit party at court, for at Versailles as well as in Quebec the two parties struggled over the future of the colony; and the arguments of the Jesuit missionaries were no less strongly supported in the closet of the king and in the office of his minister than were the loud demands of Frontenac. Party influences weighted the scales first on this side and then on that, bringing a vacillation in royal instructions which was detrimental to the colony.

Colbert himself saw the folly of expanding so thin a colony as New France over so vast a territory. He was alarmed at Frontenac's report of the activities of the *coureurs de bois* in the west, and he constantly urged the governor to encourage the development of agriculture.[11] On April 15, 1676, he wrote to Frontenac: "In regard to new discoveries, you ought not to turn your attention thereunto without urgent necessity and very great advantage, and you ought to hold it as a maxim that it is much better to occupy less territory and to people it thoroughly, than to spread oneself out more, and to have feeble colonies which can be destroyed by any sort of accident."[12]

Two years before, however, in writing on the same subject, he had made two exceptions to the general rule of not promoting western explorations. The first concerned territory which might be of service to the commerce and trade of the French and might be discovered by and taken possession of by

[11] He also disapproved of the request of the Jesuits for the privilege of founding distant missions. *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:90, 114; Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:249.

[12] *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:126.

some other nation; the second concerned territory with a port more open than any in Canada.[13] In spite of the prohibition, therefore, there was offered by the two exceptions ample opportunity for Frontenac's policy of expansion. Could it not be readily conceived as warranted by both exceptions?

[13] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:256.

V. THE FIRST STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

MOMENTOUS events in their origins do not always startle by their magnitude. The discovery of the Mississippi valley and the beginning of its occupation by white men, in comparison with present day events involving millions of men and billions of dollars, appear petty in the extreme; but, through the triumph of the white population over the hostile forces of the wilderness in the wealthiest valley of the world, trivial events have become potentially great. The contests between rival European nations for dominion over the valley, though decided by a handful of men, were stupendous, for the dominance within the interior of North America was at stake and upon the outcome depended the relative power in world conferences of the people of English, French, and Spanish speech. The future predominance among these peoples was practically settled in the hundred years following the important exploration of Louis Jolliet. It was a period fraught with the fate of nations.[1]

In the opinion of many men of Canada, the occupation of the newly discovered region must, in the interest of France, be soon accomplished; yet factional strife threatened to defeat every effort to bring this about. The plans of the Jesuits and Jolliet had been blocked by Governor Frontenac, because he thought that the privileges of the religious order in the region of the Great Lakes had already endowed it with too great power over the destinies of the west. The one hope to counteract its influence lay in the colonization and exploitation of the Illinois country by other interests. This was the period when all traders were prohibited from going into the wilderness. The prohibition was favorable to a fur trading monopoly, provided the governor could persuade the crown of the necessity of occupying the territory, because it fell under one of the specified excep-

[1] For a more extensive treatment of the subject of this chapter, the reader is referred to Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac,* and Parkman, *La Salle.*

tions to the general policy of restriction. The plan was to secure the privilege of a monopoly and the organization of a company. The agent selected to put it into execution was a man of genius and vision, the first promoter of big business in the west, Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle.[2]

La Salle was baptized at Rouen on November 22, 1643. Born into a family belonging to the lesser nobility, he received the best education of the period, that of the Jesuits. It may have been during this early association that there originated the enmity which he exhibited toward the order from the moment of his arrival in Canada.[3] In 1666 the young Frenchman followed his brother, the Abbé Jean Cavelier, of the Sulpician order, to Montreal, where he received an estate, later called Lachine. For the life of a farmer La Salle was ill adapted; the impetus to explore constantly tempted him into the near-by wilderness, whence the natives frequently came to visit him. His imagination was particularly aroused by the tales of the Iroquois; he first heard from them of the "Beautiful River," or the Ohio, which took its rise in their country and led into the unknown. Might it not prove to be the long-sought route to China?

The moment was propitious for such exploration, since the intendant, Jean Talon, was fostering elaborate discoveries to the north and west. Yet the first expedition undertaken by the young explorer in 1669 seems not to have had official backing. He associated himself with two Sulpicians, the Abbés Gallinée and Dollier de Casson, who were going to the region south of the lakes for the purpose of establishing missions. The result of their explorations does not necessarily belong to this narrative, since they did not reach the Illinois country. La Salle,

[2] Not Réné-Robert as so often given. Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle,* 11. The origin of the name "La Salle" is unknown; it was not that of his father, his uncle, or his brother. *Ibid.,* 11.

[3] For source material on La Salle's biography, see Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* volumes 1-3 (Margry's work is the standard collection of sources); Cox, *Journeys of La Salle,* 2 volumes (translations of the more important documents); Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest* (Tonti's memoir); Thomassy, *De La Salle et Ses Relations Inédites* (bearing on the discovery of the Mississippi); "Relation de Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements.* Excellent secondary works are the following: Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac;* Parkman, *La Salle;* Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle,* and *Nouvelle Etude;* Shea, *The Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble.*

in fact, went no farther than the land of the Seneca. The next year he was sent to the same region by the intendant, but no record of the results has been preserved.[4]

These first expeditions were important in the history of Illinois, however, on account of their utilization by La Salle's friends and because of the illustration they give of the animosity between the two parties dividing the government of Quebec and that of Paris. La Salle's party was much chagrined at the success of Jolliet and his friends, the Jesuits, who in turn naturally took all possible advantage of the discovery of the Mississippi river to further their purposes at court. To counteract this success, La Salle's friends magnified his exploits, going so far as to use the ready pen of the Abbé Bernou of Paris to manufacture an account of early explorations of La Salle, based on his later exploits, supposedly proving that he had actually canoed down the Ohio and later down the Illinois in 1669 and 1670; and they even interpolated in a petition, purporting to come from La Salle, a clause claiming that he had made the discovery of the Ohio.[5]

The significant thing concerning these early years of La Salle is that he lived among the Iroquois long enough to learn their language and traditions thoroughly and to become seasoned to the fatigues of forest life. He soon proved himself of service to Governor Frontenac, who realized that the Iroquois nations held the key to the country of the fur trade lying south of the lakes; and he and his able lieutenant were soon planning to exploit this region. In 1673 the governor made an expedition to the northern bank of Lake Ontario, where he met the chieftains of the Iroquois on the site of the modern city of Kingston. Frontenac, like La Salle, had a personality and bearing fitted to impress the Indians, and in this meeting the governor won the respect of these savages who had been so long hostile to the French.

Now the palisades of a new fort—called Frontenac, after

[4] Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, 14 ff.

[5] The petition is to be found in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:330, and the "Histoire de M. La Salle," *ibid.*, 376 ff. On this subject Frank E. Melvin has made a very careful study which is still in manuscript in the Illinois Historical Survey, but soon to be published. It leaves no doubt concerning the assertions in the text. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 1:143, also arrives at the same conclusion.

the governor — were raised, on the governor's own initiative and without the authority of the court, to become the center of the proposed western enterprises and to overawe the Iroquois confederacy, which acted as an intermediary between the western Indians and the British traders at Albany. The French government raised objections; and finally, in 1674, La Salle was sent to France as the governor's representative to explain the situation to an ignorant ministry and to petition for the position of commander of the new fort. In introducing La Salle to Minister Colbert, Frontenac wrote enthusiastically of his lieutenant: "I cannot but recommend to you, Monseigneur, the Sieur de la Salle, who is about to go to France, and who is a man of intelligence and ability, the most competent of anyone I know here to accomplish every enterprise and discovery which may be intrusted to him, as he has the most perfect knowledge of the state of the country, as you will see, if you are disposed to give him a few moments' audience."[6]

Thus introduced, La Salle was well received at court in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit party, not so powerful at the moment as it later became under the fostering care of Madame de Maintenon. He petitioned for a patent of nobility and for the seigniory of Fort Frontenac, promising to build the fort of stone and to develop a village around it at a considerable cost. Both petitions were granted. The expense which the adventure incurred was approved by his family and friends as a good investment promising rich returns from the fur trade; hence La Salle had no trouble in obtaining the necessary financial backing. Undoubtedly his chief, Governor Frontenac, entered into partnership with him. The hope of the investors was not oversanguine, for the new fort might be made the center of the whole fur trade of the west, particularly if La Salle could maintain his friendly relations with the Iroquois. That the hopes of the investors were never fulfilled must be attributed to the character of La Salle, explorer, adventurer, and dreamer of big dreams, but not a man of business. "I have neither the habit nor the inclination to keep books, nor have I anybody with me who knows how," he wrote a friend.[7]

[6] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:277.
[7] Quoted in Parkman, *La Salle*, 331.

Riches lay around him, but his were not the hands to garner them.

Even more signal was his failure as a leader of men. A few, like Tonti[8] and La Forest, clung to him with an ideal devotion; but by the majority of his followers La Salle was regarded as tyrannical and arrogant; and at critical moments the service due him as leader was refused. Desertions were frequent, and more than one attempt at assassination was made. His equals as well as his inferiors La Salle failed to inspire with confidence and affection. His was one of those natures, continually at strife with associates, which never learns the strategic force of conciliation. Thus he disdained to win over the merchants of Canada to his new undertaking, though it was evident that his privileges of conducting the fur trade would have attracted many. La Salle himself ascribed his difficulty in propitiating people to a timidity which he could not overcome. His fear of meeting people caused him to seek the solitude of the wilderness rather than preferment in the civilized quarters of the world. "I well believe that there is self-love in this; and that, knowing how little I am accustomed to a more polite life, the fear of making mistakes makes me more reserved than I like to be. So I rarely expose myself to conversation with those in whose company I am afraid of making blunders, and can hardly help making them."[9]

La Salle returned to New France in 1675, bringing with him his faithful lieutenant, François Daupin de la Forest, and the Recollect friar, Louis Hennepin, not yet made famous by a stupendous lie. Two years the leaders spent in preparation for the extension of the fur trade; then again La Salle was obliged to journey to France to seek further privileges and financial assistance. His request for the privilege of pushing his explorations south of the lakes, of building forts, and of monopolizing the fur trade, backed by powerful men and some bribery, was granted; but he was carefully forbidden to trade with the Ottawa Indians or with tribes which carried their

[8] He spelled his name thus and not "Tonty," as is generally given. The error has been due to misreading the usual flourish with the final letter as forming a "y." A consultation of any Italian encyclopedia will convince the reader. Tonti accompanied La Salle from France in 1678.

[9] Quoted in Parkman, *La Salle*, 339.

furs to Montreal.[10] This meant that he was cut off from trading on the Great Lakes. Funds necessary for the venture were finally obtained, though at ruinous interest, and on the credit of his estate a company was formed in 1679 at Montreal.[11]

The preparations for the invasion of the west were pressed throughout the winter. By August, 1679, all was ready, and the first ship of commerce on Lake Erie, the *Griffon,* began its voyage through the Great Lakes. An excellent trade was carried on during the voyage in spite of the prohibition of the king, and the vessel was well laden with furs when it reached Green Bay. Here La Salle, ever unfortunate, learned that his numerous creditors had seized his property at Frontenac and Quebec, and accordingly he sent the *Griffon* back with her cargo with orders to return and meet him at the mouth of the St. Joseph river. In some way not known exactly the ship sank some time after leaving port, causing a loss of 40,000 livres to its owner.[12]

Meanwhile La Salle, with only fourteen men, three of whom were Recollect friars, in four canoes, coasted along the western shore of Lake Michigan, enduring many hardships as the weather grew colder. Rumors of possible attacks from the Iroquois were brought him by the Indians. The arousing of these Indians he attributed, probably without cause, to the intrigues of his enemies, the Jesuits. Finally, on November 1, he entered the mouth of the river St. Joseph, only to find that his lieutenant, Henri de Tonti, whom he had ordered to lead a company from Mackinac, had not yet arrived. La Salle's men were near mutiny; but he drove them, while waiting for reënforcements, to the task of building a fort at the mouth of the river; and before the end of the month Tonti arrived.

The party, now numbering thirty-three, embarked in eight canoes on December 1 and ascended the river in search of a

[10] Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac,* 204; Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 1:333, 337.

[11] *Ibid.,* 425, 427 ff.; 2:25 ff.

[12] *Ibid.,* 1:451. For the whole discussion of La Salle's operations consult Parkman, *La Salle,* and Garneau, *Histoire du Canada,* 1:301 ff. The livre was equivalent to the modern franc. Its value varied greatly, but may be roughly reckoned at twenty cents.

portage to the Kankakee.[13] When reached, this river was hardly differentiated from the marshland, but soon the scene changed, and the explorers were floating between banks lined with trees which obscured the view of the broad prairies beyond. Even in midwinter, Illinois seemed to La Salle, as it had to Jolliet, a land of great promise; and he became eloquent in his description of the country.[14]

The little flotilla on January 5 entered the expansion of the river called then Pimitoui or Peoria lake. Here they found a village of the Illinois Peoria, who showed signs of hostility. La Salle was convinced that the Jesuit Allouez, who had just left the region, had poisoned their minds, telling them that he, La Salle, was intending to deliver them over to the Iroquois. The explorer understood Indian nature; and realizing that boldness was the best course, he landed his men ready for battle. His policy won over the Indians. Even when a Mascouten chief came secretly to warn the Illinois of La Salle's purposes, he was unable to rouse them to action.[15]

On the south side of the river a mile from the end of the "lake" he erected Fort Crèvecoeur. Here at the second French fort in the great west, preparations were begun for the voyage down the Mississippi.

To make a preliminary survey of the great river which was the object of his explorations, he sent Michel Accault and another *voyageur,* accompanied by the Recollect friar, Father Hennepin, to explore its upper reaches.[16] There is no need to follow in detail this exploratory trip; it was successful. The explorers were taken captive by the Sioux and conducted by them into their country. In their wanderings they visited the falls of St. Anthony, near which stand today the cities of St.

[13] This river as well as the Illinois was called at this time "Theakiki." Other names given it were "Seignelay," "River of the Mascoupens," and "Divine." Parkman, *La Salle,* 167, note 1.

[14] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 1:582.

[15] *Ibid.,* 467; 2:33, 37. La Salle wrote that the Jesuits made "the Iroquois among whom they live, believe that my enterprise has no other end than to furnish the Illinois with arms and hatchets, and the Illinois believe that I am establishing myself in their country in order to deliver them to their enemies."

[16] Whether Hennepin or Accault was the leader appears to be in doubt. La Salle says he sent Accault and Picard. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 2:245; but see Shea's note in Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith* (ed. Shea), 2:124.

Paul and Minneapolis. From their enforced attendance on the Indians the three men were rescued by the greatest of all *coureurs de bois,* Daniel Greysolon Dulhut. Hennepin, after his release, made his way to Paris where in 1683 he published an account of his journeyings, which became immediately popular and made the name of La Salle first known to the reading public.[17]

Shortly after Hennepin left the fort, La Salle himself with four companions departed on a journey to Fort Frontenac to bring supplies and to straighten out his finances.[18] La Salle was on the point of returning to the Illinois country, when two messengers from Tonti reached him on July 22 with the disheartening news that, while Tonti with a small party was absent inspecting Starved Rock as a possible location for the permanent post, all the men remaining at Fort Crèvecoeur had deserted, after plundering and destroying the fort; they had looted also the fort on the St. Joseph and that at Niagara.

La Salle must now begin anew. First of all, the necessary assistance had to be carried to Tonti, upon whose presence in the Illinois seemed to depend the hope of the whole enterprise. Quickly collecting his equipment, La Salle started westward again on August 1, 1680. With him went his lieutenant, La Forest, and twenty-five men, including artisans of all kinds. He journeyed by way of the Great Lakes and on November 4 reached the mouth of the St. Joseph. He pushed on over the portage with only six Frenchmen and an Indian. While he was still on the lakes a rumor had reached him of an attack of the Iroquois upon the Illinois people. Full of dread, his small party approached the Indian village, near the site of modern Utica. The village was burned, the cornfields were laid waste, and the corpses of men, rifled from the graveyard and now half eaten by the wild beasts and buzzards, lay strewn on the ground — the handiwork of the Iroquois.

La Salle's one thought was of Tonti. Leaving three men behind to warn the rest of his party that was to follow, he

[17] *Description de la Louisiane nouvellement découverte au Sud-Oüest de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1683).

[18] Parkman says it was "the most arduous journey ever made by a Frenchman in America." *La Salle,* 193, 198. The superlative is possibly too strong when one remembers the journeyings of the Verendrie and many other explorers.

canoed rapidly down the Illinois river, observing the signs of the flight of the Illinois before their implacable foes. No trace could he find of his lieutenant, though he pursued his course until he reached the goal of his ambition, the Mississippi river. He then turned back, ascended the Des Plaines a short distance, and found a slight evidence of the passage of white men. With hopes revived, he and his men struck out on foot, despite the cold midwinter, toward the fort on the St. Joseph. There they found the rest of their party under La Forest awaiting them.[19]

What of Tonti? During La Salle's absence on his journey to Fort Frontenac, Tonti had experienced one horror after another. After his men destroyed Fort Crèvecoeur and deserted, he with five companions, two of whom were the Recollect friars, Zénobe Membré and Gabriel de la Ribourde, made his residence in the large Illinois village between Starved Rock and the Vermilion river, his purpose being to avert the suspicion of the natives, who were not yet convinced of the friendly purposes of La Salle. In the fall there suddenly burst upon the village the danger of utter annihilation; a force of five hundred Iroquois with one hundred Miami came marching against the Illinois. The cause of this war seems to have been wholly economic, in spite of La Salle's belief that it was due to the intrigues of his enemies, the Jesuits.[20] The motive back of the wars of the Iroquois is not difficult to discover. Like all the aborigines, this proud confederacy had become economically dependent upon the white men — in their case the Albany traders — for the necessities of life and found themselves obliged to make the fur trade their principal business. The territory which they occupied was never rich in fur bearing animals, and the supply had soon become exhausted. The profits of middlemen were their motive for war. They must force the western Indians to trade through them; or, failing in this, they must conquer and exploit the territory themselves.[21]

[19] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, 1:126 ff.; Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1:518 ff., 2:137.

[20] See particularly his letter of August 22, 1682, *ibid.*, 2:216 ff.

[21] Their policy of annihilating their enemies points to the second alternative as their purpose. For the early history of the Iroquois relation to western trade I am greatly indebted to McIlwain's introduction to Wraxall, *An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs*. His treatment of the subject is by all odds the ablest history of early Indian affairs that has been written.

Meanwhile they assumed something of the attitude of game wardens of the beaver and became particularly incensed at the Illinois for killing the female animals, thus hastening the extinction of the species.[22]

The importance of the trade to their economic life made the Iroquois very sensitive to the danger of French success in establishing trade relations with the Indians of the west. Without peltries they could buy no white man's merchandise. The divorce of the western Indians from the invading French traders was as important to the safety of the Iroquois trade as was the friendship of the British. Frontenac's plans for, and La Salle's exploits in, the region south of the Great Lakes threatened the very existence of the Five Nations. The desperate attacks on the Hurons and Ottawa, mentioned in the last chapter, and this sudden onslaught upon the Illinois are all to be explained on this economic ground.

The appearance of a large war party of Iroquois on the Illinois river had a far greater significance than a local economic war between the French and the aborigines. The era when the British entered consciously upon the policy of developing their western fur trade began at the moment when the French first trod the prairies of the Illinois. Then it was that London became an active center of speculation in furs. The Hudson's Bay Company, whose power still stretches over the Canadian northwest, had just been founded, and its first ships were trading on the bay that gave the company its name. Influenced by the same group of men who were engaged in this northern company, Englishmen of Virginia were at the same time making their way painfully across the Appalachian divide and establishing trade relations with the Indians south of the Ohio.[23] A few years before, the colony of New York had been taken by the British from the Dutch; and the same London speculators were organizing the western industry of that colony.

In the competition with the French for the Indian trade, the British enjoyed one great advantage and suffered one disadvantage. The British goods could be sold at Albany more cheaply

[22] This same charge was brought against the Illinois by the Foxes.

[23] Alvord and Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians,* contains an account of this early enterprise and of the union of the British interests in the three regions mentioned.

than the French could market their merchandise in Montreal.[24] In particular rum was cheaper than brandy and just as effective; the English liquor made one drunk for a muskrat skin, the French, for a beaver. The disadvantage of the British was a badly organized system of trade. All the colonies were in competition, there were no imperial regulations, and no colony undertook systematically, as the French government attempted to do, to protect the Indian rights from unscrupulous traders.

The news of the operations of the French on the Mississippi river aroused the greatest uneasiness among the Albany traders, an uneasiness felt even in political circles in London. The British themselves were not yet prepared to enter into a direct struggle with the French for the great interior valley, but they could and did strike at their rivals through their allies, the Iroquois. The attack of 1680 marks the opening campaign of almost a hundred years of warfare for dominion over the west.

The Illinois, thrown into the greatest confusion and fear by this unexpected attack, threatened to wreak their vengeance on Tonti and his companions. The boldness of Tonti in attempting mediation between the Indian war parties — he went alone among the Iroquois — assuaged their suspicions. The Illinois soon withdrew across and down the river and were followed by the Iroquois until most of the former were forced to take refuge across the Mississippi. The Tamaroa alone, thinking themselves safe, did not cross. They were suddenly attacked by the enemy; the men fled, and the women and children were massacred with the usual horrors of an Iroquois victory. The remains of this fight La Salle later discovered on his journey down the Illinois river.[25]

Tonti, captured by the Iroquois, had been compelled to leave the region. With his companions he made his way amidst the greatest hardships — Father Ribourde was actually killed by the Kickapoo — to Green Bay.

The adversity which La Salle had experienced at the hands of the Iroquois gave him constant anxiety. The danger suggested the cure, and La Salle developed out of this experience

[24] See comparison of price lists in *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 408.

[25] Tonti's account in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 291 ff.; Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1: 510 ff.

an Indian policy which was to be followed by the French authorities in the west for many years. The Iroquois confederacy could be resisted only by a strong confederacy of western Indians. From the tribes of the Abnaki and Mohegan, wanderers from the east, the Illinois, the Miami, and the Shawnee, La Salle was able before spring to form a real confederacy of western tribes prepared to meet in war the Five Nations.[26]

Full of new courage, the explorer again journeyed to Fort Frontenac. Tonti joined him at Mackinac. Although the bills for constructing Fort Frontenac were still unpaid and the building was heavily mortgaged, he raised, with the aid of the Comte de Frontenac and by the sale of part of his monopoly, sufficient resources to make another attempt to reach the mouth of the Mississippi and to open up the connection between that semi-tropical port and wintry Canada.

Back to Fort Miami he made his way, through the usual hardships, and there the preparations for the supreme effort were completed. The Indian allies he chose to accompany him were the Abnaki and Mohegan from New England. He selected eighteen of these, who insisted on being accompanied by ten squaws and some children. The Frenchmen of the party numbered twenty-three. In the dead of winter they made the start in canoes to Chicago and continued their journey on foot to the open water on the Illinois river. Here they again took to their canoes; and on February 2, 1682, they darted out into the stream of the Mississippi.

The trip down was made without difficulty or danger, Indians along the banks proving friendly. Finally the voyagers reached the long-sought mouth of the river, the most accessible port of entry into the heart of the west. Here with appropriate ceremonies they raised a column on which was inscribed in French: "Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, reigns; April 9, 1682." La Salle then solemnly took possession of Louisiana, the name given by him to the region watered by the Mississippi and its branches — a huge territory, stretching from the Alleghenies to the Rockies, and from the Rio Grande to the source of the Missouri — and a second time proclaimed

[26] See La Salle's account in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 1: 525 ff.; Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, 1: 129.

it a part of France. The empire had thus been staked out by Jolliet and La Salle; France had now to protect its claim from all comers.[27]

On his return journey La Salle was taken ill and was obliged to rest awhile at Fort Prudhomme, which he built at the Chickasaw bluffs, while Tonti continued on his way to Mackinac, whence the announcement of the successful outcome of the expedition could be sent to La Salle's eagerly waiting creditors and friends in Canada and France.

La Salle seemed on the point of success. His colony at the Illinois could be established; the Indians were ready to unite with him; and a port open the year round was secured on the gulf, which he intended to fortify and colonize. He might soon hope to free himself entirely from the entanglements of Canada and make himself the governor of a vaster and more fertile realm than that of the north.

The first step in this magnificent plan was the fortification of the Illinois, a move not to be delayed, for rumors of another Iroquois invasion were persistent. The place chosen by La Salle for his second fort has long been known as Starved Rock from a tradition that here a party of Illinois Indians defended themselves from their enemies until they starved. The rock rises out of the Illinois river to the height of one hundred and twenty-five feet. Its steep sides offer only one access and that a difficult one from the back. Its summit embraces about an acre of land and affords a fortification ready-made by nature.

Here, in the month of December, La Salle and Tonti began raising the new fort — Fort St. Louis — the center of the seigniory. This was the first French fort of a permanent character in the upper country, and here were signed the first patents to land ever made in Illinois. A later critic of his activities reports: "M. de la Salle has made grants at Fort St. Louis to several Frenchmen who have been living there for several years without caring to return. This has occasioned a host of disorders and abominations. These people to whom M. de la Salle has made grants are all youths who have done nothing toward cultivating the land. They keep marrying, after the

[27] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, 1:160 ff.; Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 2:186 ff.

manner of the savages of the country, Indian squaws whom they buy from the parents with merchandise. These people set themselves up as independent and masters on their grants." [28] Occupation and settlement then were beginning to take place.

Around Fort St. Louis gathered the Indian allies. Their lodges of bark and rushes were scattered over the surrounding plains; here were Illinois, Wea, Piankashaw, Shawnee, Abnaki, and Miami to the number of 3,880 warriors, according to the map of Jean Baptiste Franquelin, whose data were obtained from La Salle himself. This would mean an Indian population in the neighborhood of twenty thousand. La Salle's success was due in the first instance to the universal fear inspired among the western Indians by the Iroquois attacks, but great credit must also be given him for the use he made of the situation. He often failed in his dealings with his equals and inferiors among his own countrymen, but with the Indians his arrogance and his love of solitude and silence made him a hero whose advice they eagerly accepted. Few white men have equaled his success in the leadership of the aborigines of the American wilderness.

The outcome of his undertaking depended upon his being able to supply the Indians with merchandise, and this he must secure from Canada until he had established his *entrepôt* at the mouth of the Mississippi. To facilitate the transportation of his goods he sent two of his men to build a small post at the Chicago portage.[29] La Salle was now prepared to monopolize the fur trade of the west. His organization was perfected; the business outlook appeared most favorable.

Unfortunately for La Salle, Canada was filled with his enemies, who could be restrained only by the Comte de Frontenac; and at this critical moment in his affairs the Illinois *entrepreneur* lost the strong support of this forceful governor, whom the opposition party had succeeded in having recalled to France. To his successor, Antoine le Febvre de la Barre, La Salle and his monopoly appeared particularly objection-

[28] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 3: 563.

[29] After Marquette's hut, this was the first building on the present site of Chicago; La Salle, writing June 4, 1683, called it "une maison de pièces." Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 2: 317.

able.[30] La Salle, nevertheless, was not discouraged. La Barre might be won over. In a letter of April 2, 1683, he described to the governor the difficulties that had beset the Illinois enterprise. He asserted that his losses amounted to forty thousand écus but that he was optimistic concerning the future, for he was certain of being able to pay his creditors that year.[31] He proudly described the results of his diplomacy in collecting the Indian tribes around his fort and informed the governor that he was on the point of going four hundred leagues to the south and west to induce more Indians to join him. He protested against the accusations that he was trading in furs with Indians of the Great Lakes and requested protection for his traders whom he was sending to Quebec to purchase supplies.[32]

La Salle's hopes of securing support or even justice from the new governor were baseless. The latter had surrounded himself with the merchants who were La Salle's rivals, anxious to become heirs to the Illinois establishment; and he was already belittling to the home government the discoveries of the explorer; he expressed the fear that La Salle's efforts were exposing the western tribes to annihilation at the hands of the Iroquois; and he described La Salle as claiming falsely to have made discoveries, as arrogantly setting himself up as king, pillaging his countrymen, and putting them up for ransom. These misrepresentations were effectual in turning the French government, at least temporarily, against La Salle.[33]

The governor had cause to fear the Iroquois, and he was correct in connecting their hostility with La Salle's operations, although his diagnosis of the condition was altogether wrong. The Iroquois were not satisfied with the results of their cam-

[30] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 2:309 ff.; Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac,* 268 ff.

[31] The écu was worth five livres, or about a dollar.

[32] "The payment," he wrote, "which I shall make to them after so many misfortunes will demonstrate that I have not undertaken an enterprise beyond my powers since . . . . I have come to the end of it without any assistance not to say in spite of the opposition of all those of the country." Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 2:313.

[33] *Ibid.,* 336; Parkman, *La Salle,* 323. The king wrote La Barre on August 5, 1683: "I am convinced, like you, that the discovery of the Sieur de la Salle is very useless, and that such enterprises ought to be prevented in future, as they tend only to debauch the inhabitants by the hope of gain, and to diminish the revenue from beaver-skins." Quoted *ibid.,* 324.

paign in 1680 against the Illinois; they still feared the loss of the fur trade through the establishment of the French in the far west and their alliance with the Algonquian tribes of the region. In their purpose to crush these tribes they were supported by the English and Dutch traders of Albany and by the new governor of New York, Colonel Thomas Dongan. When Frontenac left the colony a general war with the Iroquois seemed threatening, the prevention of which needed a strong hand.

The measures taken by Governor de la Barre were weak. A deputation of forty-three Iroquois was persuaded to come to Montreal, where a grand council was held. The Iroquois, when asked why they made war on the Illinois, answered boldly that the Illinois must die; and they complained loudly of La Salle's operations. La Barre promised to punish him, and there is considerable evidence that the discoverer was offered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the enemy.

Meanwhile La Salle was threatened with ruin by the lack of supplies. Convinced of the hostility of the governor, he started east in 1683 to obtain an agreement with the colonial officials, or in case of failure, to seek justice at the court of the king. *En route* he met the Chevalier de Baugy, who had been sent by the governor to assume command of the Illinois and to summon La Salle to appear at Quebec. There was nothing to do but to order Tonti to receive the new commander peacefully. The surrender of Fort St. Louis by Tonti marks the culmination of the triumph of La Salle's enemies. All the posts established for the conduct of his business were now in the hands of rivals. La Salle's only hope lay in the French government.

La Barre and his associates fell heir not only to La Salle's property but also to his enmities. A flotilla of canoes sent west with licenses from the governor was attacked and robbed by a war party of the Iroquois, who made no fine distinctions among fur traders; and the two officers of Fort St. Louis, Baugy and Tonti, were besieged by the same band. The siege lasted from March 21 to 27, 1684; but the fort proved too strong, and the Iroquois retired. Upon the approach of danger Baugy had sent a courier to Mackinac to seek aid; and after the

danger was over a party of sixty men as a reënforcement arrived, bringing with them an order to Tonti to report in Quebec.[34]

Discouraged but not defeated, La Salle returned to France, where he was surprised to learn that he was a noted man. His friends had been making every effort to bring the news of his activities to the notice of the court. In this they were unquestionably assisted by the appearance in 1683 of Father Louis Hennepin's volume, *Description de la Louisiane nouvellement découverte au Sud-Oüest de la Nouvelle France.* La Salle's fame brought him the honor of a personal interview with Louis XIV, who was particularly impressed with his ideas of the future development of the transmarine empire. Colbert, the explorer's former patron, was dead; but his son, Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Seignelay, supported the plans of La Salle. The foreign relations were also favorable for the promotion of his purposes; France was at war with Spain, and the ministry was easily persuaded that the proposed establishment of a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi would make possible the invasion of this rival's sole occupation of the gulf territory, would promote trade in the region, and would facilitate the conquest of the Mexican province of New Biscay.[35]

The account of La Salle's efforts to found a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, ending in 1687 in his death at the hands of one of his own men, is a story full of romance. The reader will find the tale of the last days of the explorer told at length by the most delightful of all American historians, Francis Parkman.[36] Magnificent in his failures, La Salle by his heroism has always made an appeal both to contemporaries and to posterity; nor should his efforts to win the Mississippi valley for France be estimated as futile, for he had aroused political circles in France to interest themselves in the expansion of their American empire. It was not to his efforts, however, that France owed her temporary possession of the inland valley of North America; men of different character, with a greater

[34] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 2:338 ff.; Tonti's memoir in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 305; Cox, *Journeys of La Salle,* 1:31.

[35] The memorial of La Salle is in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 2:359 ff. The plan ignored the existence of the whole of modern Texas.

[36] Parkman, *La Salle,* 343 ff.

capacity and opportunity for accomplishment, were to do what La Salle attempted in vain.

One result of the popularity of La Salle in France was that the government sent orders to Governor de la Barre to reinstate him in all his possessions. The order was obeyed, and Tonti took immediate possession of Fort St. Louis. He found that much of La Salle's work in uniting the tribes had been dissipated under the administration of the Sieur de Baugy. Tonti had a personality more amiable than that of La Salle and was equally competent in managing the Indians. The first danger confronting him was the renewal of hostilities between the Illinois and the Miami. These tribes he assuaged by presents and persuasion. This danger averted, he had little trouble in reviving the Indian confederacy.

From his first appearance in the colony of New France, Governor de la Barre had boasted of the punishment that he would inflict upon the Iroquois. He confided his intention to the governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, writing that he found it necessary to lead a punitive expedition against the Five Nations. This early information gave to the British governor an advantage which he was quick to utilize, despite the instructions of his king to maintain peaceful relations with New France. He strengthened his bond with the Iroquois by informing them of the French intentions, promising them his military assistance; and he persuaded them to place themselves under his protection and to consent to the erection of the arms of the Duke of York in their villages—a sign of sovereignty little understood by the savages, but in the course of time to become a symbol of Britain's right to a vast territory.

Many forces impelled La Barre to hasten his preparations for war. He boastfully wrote the king: "My purpose is to exterminate the Senecas; for otherwise your Majesty need take no further account of this country, since there is no hope of peace with them, except when they are driven to it by force."[37] Brave words these, but not followed up by deeds, which alone passed as currency in the wilderness. The governor's expedition was a fiasco; the troops, few in number, fell ill; no battle followed; and the treaty made was a disgrace to France, for

[37] July 9, 1684. Quoted in Parkman, *Frontenac*, 104.

the braggart governor abandoned his allies, the Illinois tribes, to such fate as the Iroquois might prepare for them. When the news of this treaty was received in France, La Barre was summoned home and Jacques René de Brisay, marquis de Denonville, was sent as his successor.

The new governor was a much abler and more forceful man than his predecessor and immediately began measures to rebuild French prestige in the west. In all his efforts he was stubbornly opposed by Governor Dongan so long as the latter received a semblance of support from his home government. The western fur trade was too rich a prize to be relinquished without a struggle, thought Dongan, who in 1685 sent eleven canoes under the command of Johannes Rooseboom to trade in the lakes region. The expedition was a great success, both financially and politically; the Indians asked the traders to come yearly. Imagine the indignation of the French at this invasion of rights already considered inalienable. An officer was sent off posthaste to arrest the British. He arrived too late. In the fall of 1686 a second and larger expedition, consisting of fifty-eight white men divided into two parties, was organized by the Albany merchants under authority of the governor. This time the French were more lucky: the first convoy under Rooseboom was captured by Olivier Morel de la Durantaye in 1687 without difficulty, and the second under Major Patrick Macgregory met a similar fate shortly afterwards; all were later released in accordance with orders of the French king.[38]

In 1687 Denonville was ready to strike his blow at the Iroquois. The last phase of the first struggle for the domination of the west was to be inaugurated on a fitting scale. The destruction of the power of the Five Nations would mean the immediate peaceful possession of the Mississippi valley by the French. The army which the governor led to Fort Frontenac mustered two thousand men . On reaching Lake Ontario he learned that his western lieutenants had gathered a large contingent of *coureurs de bois* and Indians — among whom were Tonti and the Illinois — and were coming to his aid. Tonti had marched with sixteen Frenchmen and two hundred

[38] Denonville to minister, May 8, 1686, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 287, see also 297; *ibid.*, 3:436, 9:309, 318, 320, 332, 348, 363.

Indians to Detroit to join Dulhut, La Forest, and La Durantaye with their contingents, none too eager to make this distant expedition against their common enemy. The first success of the campaign was won by this western band, when it took captive the two convoys of British traders sent out from Albany.[39]

The whole army advanced into the region of the Seneca, where a battle was fought and won by the French. Several villages were burned and the crops destroyed; but the consensus of opinion among contemporaries and later historians is that, except for the impression made upon the Indians by the display of power, little advantage was won.

The transient character of Denonville's success was proved during the following years by the harassing of Canada by small bands of Iroquois, who made the outlying posts uninhabitable. A massacre which occurred at Lachine was the most frightful in Canadian history. Montreal was thrown into a state of terror, while the country around was ravaged by the savages at will. The final confession of failure Denonville made when he ordered Fort Frontenac, that symbol of the French western empire, to be destroyed and abandoned. French America seemed defeated by the Iroquois.[40]

Desperate situations demand desperate measures. One man alone had proved equal to the task of building an empire in America. The Comte de Frontenac was in his seventieth year, yet he accepted the trust placed upon him and returned to New France in 1689. The situation had become worse rather than better. The Revolution of 1688 had occurred in England; William of Orange, the greatest enemy of France, was now king; and the War of the Grand Alliance had broken out. Surrounded by enemies, Louis XIV could give Frontenac little help. The new governor must rely on the resources of the province.[41]

[39] Parkman, *Frontenac,* 151 ff.

[40] The account by Denonville is pitiable: "I cannot give you a truer idea of the war we have to wage with the Iroquois than by comparing them to a great number of wolves or other ferocious beasts, issuing out of a vast forest to ravage the neighboring settlements. The people gather to hunt them down; but nobody can find their lair, for they are always in motion. An abler man than I would be greatly at a loss to manage the affairs of this country." Quoted *ibid.,* 176.

[41] Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac,* 359 ff.

The situation was certainly critical. Many of the tribes around the Great Lakes, disgusted with the abandonment of the west by the French governors, had determined to change their alliance and had made a treaty with the Iroquois. Thus, by the British in the east, Indians in the west, and the Iroquois confederacy as an intermediary, a triple alliance was being formed which threatened the downfall of all that the Jesuits, the merchants, Frontenac, and La Salle had built up.[42]

There is no space in this volume to tell the story of Frontenac's success in winning back the prestige of the French arms. He followed the bold course of attacking the enemy; the burning of Schenectady by one of three war parties which he sent out made a powerful impression on the minds of the Indians; and in 1690 Montreal was electrified by the appearance of a flotilla of 110 canoes of Great Lakes Indians with furs for trading. The danger of a desertion by the allies in the rear of the French colony had been avoided.

The policy followed by Frontenac was naturally opposed by his enemies, led by the bishop of Quebec and the Jesuits. These religious zealots still believed that the best policy toward the west was to withdraw all troops and to prohibit all traders from going among the Indians. They represented to the court that the western posts were places of debauchery where the innocent natives were demoralized, an accusation which was not far from the truth; but certainly such a policy would cost the French an empire in the beginning of its career. Louis XIV, discouraged by failure, was persuaded by the opponents of Frontenac, and ordered the governor to abandon Fort Frontenac, which had been restored, to recall all Frenchmen from the west, and to make peace with the Iroquois even if it were necessary to exclude from its terms the western allies.[43] Fortunately for the French, Frontenac did not follow these instructions in every detail, though he was forced to recall the traders. The war against the Iroquois was continued with more or less success, and the morale of these redoubtable warriors was weakened. As early as 1694 they opened negotiations. In spite of

[42] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:130 ff.; Parkman, *Frontenac*, 207.

[43] Louis XIV to Frontenac and Champigny, May 26, 1696, April 27, 1697, cited in Parkman, *Frontenac*, 441. For a further discussion of the changed plans of the court, see the next chapter.

several attempts to terminate the war, the struggle ended only when the peace of Ryswick between France and England was signed in 1697.

The treaty with the Iroquois was not concluded, for various reasons, until 1701, when amidst impressive ceremonies the end of the war for the west was declared. There were assembled more than thirteen hundred Indians gathered from all tribes — among them Illinois, Potawatomi, Mascoutens, Sauk, Foxes, Winnebago, and Miami. The first danger to the French dominion in the upper Mississippi valley and the lakes region was overcome. Illinois was French, and its immediate development depended on the power of that people to make use of its resources.

VI. FUR TRADE AND MISSIONS

TRADE and religion are closely interwoven in the web of Illinois history. Wherever the investigator views the pattern, profits and otherworldliness form the center of the design. The fur trader and the "black robe," the country storekeeper and the Methodist revivalist, the captain of industry and the charity worker are the figures on the rolling tapestry depicting the development of the state. Particularly in the period of the Iroquois war was it true that the conspicuous men — in fact the only ones — bearing the burden of the state's development were eagerly pursuing either a high percentage on investments or credit in the life to come.

After the departure of La Salle — or rather after his reinstatement in his concession and his departure for the mouth of the Mississippi — a company with a capital of 20,000 livres was formed by his two lieutenants, Tonti and La Forest. For years to come the French political and trading interests in the Illinois were to be represented by these two men, the former at Fort St. Louis, the latter generally at Fort Frontenac.[1]

Tonti, whose name is even more indissolubly bound with the history of Illinois than that of his famous captain, was the son of Lorenzo Tonti of Gazette, Italy, the godfather of the form of life insurance called by his name, tontine. The son's youth was passed in France, where the family found refuge after the father became implicated in a Neapolitan conspiracy. In his new home the young man entered upon first a military and then a naval career. In a battle his right hand was shot away by a grenade; the loss he supplied with an artificial hand — a constant source of wonder to his Indian friends, who gave him the name of "Iron Hand." The Prince de Conti was his patron in France and recommended him to La Salle, whom he accompanied to New France.[2] Unlike La Salle, Tonti pos-

[1] Tonti's memoir in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, 283, 286; note in *New York Colonial Documents*, 3:580.

sessed the art of conciliating people, and even the Jesuit fathers, including Father Allouez, so often suspected of intrigue by La Salle, lived at peace with him. This characteristic made it possible for him to attract to his side many of the wandering *coureurs de bois* to strengthen his establishment.

When Tonti returned from Governor Denonville's expedition against the Iroquois he found visitors at Fort St. Louis: Father Jean Cavelier, a Sulpician priest and brother of La Salle, and three companions, who were returning from the ill-fated expedition to Texas. Fearful of losing all La Salle's property to his creditors, they had determined to remain silent concerning their leader's death until reaching France, and therefore deceived Tonti, who gave them a most friendly welcome. After borrowing seven hundred francs from the devoted lieutenant, the party made its way via Chicago to Quebec.[3]

In September, 1688, the first news of La Salle's death was brought to the fort by one of the men whom Tonti had left at his seigniory in Arkansas. Learning that some of La Salle's men were still on the gulf, Tonti made a long and difficult journey—his third one—down the Mississippi and up the Red river in the hope of bringing them relief, but he was not successful.[4]

While Tonti was active in the Illinois, his partner, La Forest, went to France and petitioned for payment for services rendered. He had come to Canada in 1679 as lieutenant under La Salle and the next year had been appointed major of Fort Frontenac, where he served for several years. By Denonville and Frontenac he had been frequently sent to the western posts with orders and presents to the Indians, in the performance of which duties he had been forced to spend liberally of his own money in the service of the king, and very properly desired compensation.[5]

[3] Tonti's memoir in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 311; "Relation de Joutel," in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 3:490 ff. In Henri Joutel's "Relation" of La Salle's last expedition there is an excellent description of Fort St. Louis as he saw it. Starved Rock was fortified by an inclosure of palisades and houses. Besides the houses for the French there were some cabins for the Indians who might take refuge in the fort on the approach of the Iroquois. The water needed for the garrison was drawn from the river by a system of wooden pipes.

[4] Tonti's memoir in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 311 ff.

[5] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C^{13}C, 3:147 ff.

On learning of the death of La Salle, La Forest asked in the name of himself and of Tonti for the concession of Fort St. Louis, stating that he and his partner were ready to undertake the defense of the Illinois region on the same conditions of trade monopoly that La Salle had enjoyed. The petition was supported by one from Tonti's sister.[6] On July 14, 1690, the king in council gave his consent,[7] and La Forest immediately started back to the Illinois with a detachment of soldiers and a large force of *engagés*.

When Tonti learned of the success of his partner, he was at Mackinac, and immediately instructed his nephew, the Sieur de Liette,[8] at Fort St. Louis, to consult the Indians about moving the site of the fort and village from Starved Rock, since it was too far from wood and almost inaccessible to water in case of hostile attack. The Indians, who had previously intimated their desire for a change, chose as the new place for their village Pimitoui, situated on the north side of the river about a mile and a half from the lower outlet of "Lake Peoria." Here in the winter of 1691–1692 Tonti erected a new and commodious fort, which was still called St. Louis but more frequently Fort Pimitoui. It was surrounded by 1800 pickets, had two large log houses, one for lodgings and one for a warehouse, and, to shelter the soldiers, two other houses built of uprights.[9] Around this new fort there soon collected French settlers, who thus formed the first permanent village in the Illinois, and for two generations — though not continuously — the fort itself stood on the banks of the Illinois river as the symbol of French imperial aspirations; nor was the flag of France finally hauled down until the French government had lost all hope of a great American empire.

[6] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:36.

[7] *Ibid.*, 51.

[8] Or, to give the name the Italian form, De Lieto. Charlevoix, *History of New France* (ed. Shea), 5:131. Another form is Desliettes. His other names are unknown. He may have been a cousin, not a nephew, of Tonti.

[9] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 55:56 ff. Manuscript called De Gannes' narrative, but undoubtedly written by Liette, in Ayer's collection, Newberry Library. For discussion of authorship see below, p. 135, note 37. The building of this second fort has hitherto been unknown even to local historians, who have been puzzled by remains of a fort on the east side of Peoria. For definite location see Coles' report in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 3:476; Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, Peoria County*, 2:19.

The erection of this new fort undoubtedly had Frontenac's approval, for several other western posts were built about the same time as a protection against the Iroquois; one was erected on the St. Joseph river, presumably near the portage where a Jesuit mission was situated.[10] It was probably about this time that Tonti and La Forest strengthened a former fort at Chicago, which they used as an intermediate post in their fur trading operations.[11] Nicolas Perrot also constructed a fort at "Malamels" among the Miami.[12]

The seven years which followed the establishment of the new Fort St. Louis were years of real prosperity in the Illinois country, in spite of the continuance of war with the Iroquois and the British. Governor Frontenac, realizing fully the importance of upholding the French power in this distant land, maintained garrisons at all the posts, sending additional soldiers to Tonti and La Forest in 1693. In the same year La Forest went to France to petition for an even larger garrison.[13]

Meanwhile Tonti was particularly active against the Iroquois, regularly sending parties of Indians from the Illinois to harass the enemy. In order to convince the French authorities of the value of his operations, Tonti called upon the Indians to estimate the number of the enemy they had killed. The gruesome list of scalps received an official certification by both Tonti and his officers, and even the Jesuit father, Jacques Gravier, placed his signature upon it. The count showed that 334 Iroquois men and boys and 111 women and girls had fallen by the guns and tomahawks of the Illinois.[14]

It was not only the Iroquois who were to be feared and to be repelled from the French west. Tonti explained at some length and with great emphasis the danger from the British, who were threatening to capture the fur trade of the Wabash valley. Adventurers from the southern British colonies, he asserted, had already reached the lower Ohio by the easy routes

[10] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:35.

[11] *Ibid.*, 4:10. There is still some doubt about this fort, but the preponderance of evidence seems to favor the statement in the text.

[12] *Ibid.*, 5:72. This undoubtedly means Marameg on the Fox river. See Franquelin's map in Parkman, *La Salle*, 314.

[13] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13C, 3:147 ff. This is a memorial written about 1707 by La Forest, setting forth his services during the past years.

[14] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4:5, note.

of the Cumberland and Tennesee rivers. A trader from Albany in 1692 actually held a "talk" with the Miami.[15] The case as expounded by Tonti was regarded as proved, and Frontenac received orders from the home government to support the concessionaires in their trade.

With the return of La Forest, Fort St. Louis became the center of a widely expanded trade, in which undoubtedly Frontenac was a silent sharer of the profits. The governor had sent Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac as commander at Mackinac and head of the administration in the west. Cadillac succeeded in negotiating between the Sioux and the Indians around Mackinac and Green Bay a truce which opened up the trade routes to the north—the great source of furs. Tonti and La Forest also seized the opportunity to extend their trade in this direction. They secured extra guards for their convoys and purchased two more trading permits. Thus prepared, Tonti made an extended trip to the Assiniboin Indians, situated somewhere above Lake Superior.[16] Their plans contemplated a still greater extension of their operations; they would make La Salle's dream of a colony come true; but their preparations were suddenly checkmated by a change of policy on the part of the home government. Louis XIV had determined to prohibit white men from trading west of Montreal.[17]

Meanwhile other representatives of white civilization had been active in the land of the Illinois. The early history of this region is identified no more completely with the enterprising traders than with the order of the Jesuits, who for almost a century maintained a long succession of zealous missionaries in this distant field. From the first one, Father Marquette, to the last, Father Meurin, these learned men of religion, with little thought of worldly wealth or desire of self-advancement, gave the best of their lives to the conversion of the Illinois Indians.

Marquette's successor in the Illinois mission, Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., played an important rôle in the establishment of the white man in the west. For twenty-four years his

[15] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4:4.

[16] *Ibid.*, 5:66. For the Assiniboin see *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:102. On operations see *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:75; De Gannes, "Memoir Concernant le Pays Illinois," in Ayer's collection, Newberry Library.

[17] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4:3 ff.

figure was a familiar one wherever new missions were to be established or maintained.[18] His first duties called him to Lake Superior, almost unknown at the time; and his correspondence proves him to have been a keen and sympathetic observer of his environment. He soon came in contact with the Illinois, who visited his mission, and his pen wrote the earliest account of the Indians who have given their name to the state. In 1669 Father Allouez was transferred to the mission at Sault Ste. Marie and shortly afterwards visited the Indians at Green Bay and along the upper Fox. He may have been the first Frenchman to stand on the banks of a river discharging its water into the Gulf of Mexico. "Heedless of fatigue or hunger, cold or heat, he traveled over snow and ice, swollen streams or dangerous rapids, seeking distant Indian villages, counting it all joy if by any means he could win a few savages for a heavenly future." So a modern writer describes the life of this man.[19]

After Marquette's death Allouez visited the Illinois mission once or twice and was there when he learned of the approach of La Salle, whose well-known suspicious and masterful character caused the missionary to retire. In 1684 it is recorded that he delivered to Tonti the governor's summons to Quebec, and in 1686 he was once more attending to his duties on the Illinois river without molestation from Tonti. "In 1689 this devoted servant of the cross died at the Miami village on St. Joseph river. A second St. Francis Xavier, Allouez is said during his twenty-four years of service to have instructed a hundred thousand Western savages and baptized at least ten thousand."[20]

Allouez's successor was Father Jacques Gravier. He arrived in New France in 1685 and came in 1688 to the Illinois, where he remained with some intermissions until 1705. After Tonti and La Forest moved Fort St. Louis from Starved Rock to Peoria, Father Gravier felt it advisable to follow them, and

[18] Elliott, "Jesuit Missionaries in the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:27 ff.

[19] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 96.

[20] *Ibid.*, 97; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, consult index; Elliott, "Jesuit Missionaries in the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:27 ff. Garraghan, "Early Catholicity in Chicago," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1:13 ff.

built a new chapel near their fort.[21] Here, in the month of April, 1693, in the presence of the French and Indians, he blessed the chapel and the thirty-five-foot cross which stood near by. His mission among the Peoria and Kaskaskia was accounted very successful, and after converting Rouensa, the principal chief of the former tribe, his influence over the natives was greatly increased.[22]

In 1696 Gravier was joined by Father Julien Binneteau and later by Father Pierre Pinet. The latter, after coming to America, served two years at Mackinac and then was sent to the Illinois, where he founded in 1696 the mission of the Guardian Angel at or near the mouth of the Chicago river, where dwelt the Wea, a Miami tribe. Why this foundation in particular should have aroused the wrath of Governor Frontenac is unknown, but for some reason he ordered it closed in 1697.

The action of the governor called from the valiant champion of his order's rights, Father Gravier of the Illinois mission, a most indignant protest addressed to the bishop of Quebec.[23] The latter was able to obtain satisfaction and the mission was reëstablished, but its life history was short, for it was abandoned by March, 1700, probably on account of the movement of the Indian tribe eastward to escape the Sioux and to be nearer the Iroquois and the British, whose intrigues in this distant land continued to embarrass the French.[24]

The act of Frontenac in closing the Jesuit mission at Chicago was symptomatic of the struggle constantly going on in New France between the imperial and the anti-imperial parties. While the governor and his lieutenants, such as Tonti and La Forest, were expanding the influence of the French and build-

[21] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 64:161.

[22] The daughter of this chief was married to Michel Accault, the commander of the expedition up the Mississippi which Father Hennepin has immortalized; the first entry, March 20, 1692, in the register of the parish of the Immaculate Conception is a record of the baptism of their child. "Kaskaskia Church Records," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1904, p. 394.

[23] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 65:53.

[24] On the mission see *ibid.,* 64:278; 65:52, 70; St. Cosme's journal in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* 346; Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days,* 537; Grover, *Father Pierre François Pinet, S. J., and his Mission of the Guardian Angel at Chicago;* Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 39 ff. On the movement of the Wea and other Miami tribes, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 16:160.

ing up their power in the west, their opponents were working on the religious scruples of the king in the hope of reversing the western policy that had been followed for a number of years. The moment was particularly propitious for gaining their purposes. The headstrong leader of war, Louvois, was dead; so too was Seignelay, who had inherited from his father, Colbert, the ideal of an energetic colonial policy; and he left no enthusiastic follower to carry the burden of such distant interests. The imperialist party without energetic leaders was no longer formidable. On the other hand the Jesuits, who formed the nucleus of the opposition to the western plans of Frontenac and his friends, exerted a powerful influence on the king and his ministers — an influence greatly strengthened by the skillful diplomacy of the king's confessor, the Jesuit father, La Chaise.[25] Moreover, this was the period of the most powerful influence of Madame de Maintenon, now secure in her position as wife of the monarch. Her bigotry, her puritanism, and her sentimentality can be traced with increasing force in governmental policies. She had gathered around her a group of congenial spirits — called the League of the Public Good — whose love of humanity made them opponents of all wars and conquests. A new philosophy of the state was developing under the shadow of the throne, the chief spokesman of which was the lovable Abbé Fénelon; the new thought is succinctly summed up in the maxim: "I love my family better than myself, my country better than my family, the human race better than my country."[26] In such warm and mellow soil the Jesuits' seeds of christian brotherhood and universal love easily sprouted and took root.

Facts strengthened the arguments of the anti-imperialists and convinced many hard-headed men of affairs who could not have been moved by religious pleadings. The cost of the Iroquois war had been large; the nonsuccess of the imperialists was apparent. Easy was the demonstration that the fur traders in the west were the cause of Indian discontent and that the colonists in distant posts were doing infinite harm.

[25] The Duc de Saint-Simon calls him a man "of mediocre mind but of good character, just, upright, sensible, prudent, gentle, and moderate, an enemy of informers and of violence of every kind." *Memoirs* (ed. St. John), 2:237.

[26] Martin, *History of France*, 2:162 ff., 267 ff.

The intendant of New France was convinced of the fact and threw all his influence in favor of a change of policy.

Another economic reason carried great weight with governmental officials. The imposition of minute regulations issued from Versailles had been a burden upon the beaver trade. Fixed prices for beavers of every quality, that had to be bought whatever the quantity by the farmers[27] at the Canadian ports, had made impossible a free development and had reduced the farmers one after another to the verge of bankruptcy. They justly claimed that quantities of beaver skins were poorly dressed, a charge especially true of pelts procured in the Illinois country. Tonti acknowledged the truth of this and wrote, in 1695, that he would persuade the Indians to be more careful.[28] The farmers found another objection to the Illinois beavers; the furs in the southern climate were by no means as good as those from more northern countries, a distinction felt more and more as the French pushed their trade farther to the north. The financial backers of La Salle had been warned and those of Tonti and La Forest were now warned that they had been cheated by the hope of rich returns in furs, and probably Tonti's northern expeditions were undertaken to overcome this difficulty.[29]

If strict and unchangeable regulations were to be maintained — and this aim was ever part of the policy of the paternalism of the French government — the number of peltries coming to market must also be limited. The system of *congés* (permits), described in a former chapter,[30] had been designed for this purpose; but the continual disregard of the law by traders and officials made it practically inoperative with reference to the influx of beavers.

Furthermore, the financial stringency was intensified by the wars waged by France against the Netherlands, one of the important fur markets of Europe and the principal source of supply for Russia. At the same time the home market was limited by the act of the king in revoking in 1685 the Edict

[27] Men who contracted to buy all the beaver skins and pay from their profits the royal taxes.

[28] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:65.

[29] Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, 454.

[30] See chapter 3.

of Nantes, which had hitherto granted religious liberty to the Huguenots. Many members of this sect, operating hat factories in Normandy, were forced to leave France, thus impairing an industry which absorbed much of the output of Canada.

Conditions reached such an *impasse* that in 1700 the king consented, at a great loss to the royal treasury, to take over the whole business of buying beaver skins. A farmer who agreed the same year to assume the burden insisted that a clause be inserted in his contract making it void if the system of permits was not entirely abolished. The economic reason for the suppression of the trade of the *coureurs de bois* was evidently paramount.[31]

The platform of the anti-imperialist party finally received the approval of the king, who wrote: "It appears to his majesty that the war with the Iroquois, has arisen especially of late times from no other cause than their jealousy of the trade with the Upper Nations."[32] To the distant wanderings of irresponsible *coureurs de bois* with their brandy trade were ascribed both the financial depression and all the evils of the past struggle. The irritating cause must be eliminated, the traders prohibited from going to the west and the Indians compelled by economic needs to bring their furs to market in the Canadian villages. This method had been followed by the British merchants of Albany and had resulted in the maintenance of friendly relations with the Iroquois. The French were now to try it.[33]

An order was issued on May 26, 1696, recalling all traders and prohibiting them from going thereafter into the wilderness. The punishment for contumacy was severe — condemnation to the galleys.[34]

The arrival of the king's decree aroused the most intense excitement in New France, where the majority of colonists

[31] Salome, *La Colonization de la Nouvelle-France*, 295 ff.; Martin, *History of France*, part VII, 2: 52; Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, 450 ff.

[32] Memoir of the king in *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 637.

[33] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, May 21, 1698, *ibid.*, 678; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33: 72 ff. Kingsford, *History of Canada*, 2: 395, gives full credit to the intendant for the change of policy.

[34] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 19: 72. Only the first part of this important memoir of the king is published in *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 636. See also Pontchartrain's letter, April 28, 1697, *ibid.*, 662.

were dependent directly or indirectly on the fur trade. Governor Frontenac postponed its promulgation for a time, to make the adjustment more easy, for he realized that a strict and immediate enforcement, if attainable, would spell bankruptcy in the colony. It was finally promulgated, however, in 1698; but Frontenac protested to the court and pointed out the inexpediency of the measure and the disastrous consequences it would bring. In a later letter he could not resist sarcastically expressing the hope that the reasons of those "persons who think they understand this country so well may be found, from their success, better than mine."[35]

At a conference of officials called by Frontenac to consider methods of procedure after the suppression of the permits, the question of preserving or abandoning the forts at Mackinac and elsewhere in the west was discussed; this was a technical detail left by the king to the decision of the local government. The majority of the members, Frontenac reported, agreed "that it would be impossible for any officers and soldiers who might be left there to live on their pay" and that the expense to the crown of provisioning the forts "would be extremely heavy," in that the provisions would have to be conveyed at great expense by Canadians whom the king did not wish sent into the interior. It was therefore determined to recall the garrisons as well as the *coureurs de bois*. The conference decided that Fort Frontenac rested on another footing and determined not to abandon it.[36]

The consequence of the promulgation of the edict was to bring the expected stagnation of business in the west. Of course the complete enforcement of the decree was impossible, despite the efforts of Frontenac and his successor; the *coureurs de bois* were too widely scattered and too well accustomed to the freedom of the forest. Many were brought in at considerable financial loss to themselves; but many more — in one company, thirty, in another, eighty-four — preferred to voyage down the Mississippi to join their fortunes with those of the new colony being established at its mouth. Others remained

[35] Frontenac to minister, October 15, 1697, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:80; Lorin, *Le Comte de Frontenac*, 468 ff.

[36] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:73.

in the woods to trade as best they could, receiving merchandise from their friends through Indian agents.

La Forest and Tonti were exempt from the terms of the ordinance of 1696. This was probably due to the power of influential friends at court, although the excuse alleged was that their undertaking had previously received the royal approval. The conditions imposed on the Illinois traders prohibited all trade in beaver skins and permitted them "to send thither [to the Illinois] only two Canoes annually, with the necessary number of men to navigate them, on condition, however, that these do not exceed the number of twelve; and this until further order, and until it shall please his Majesty to direct otherwise."[37]

The restrictions made impossible the inauguration of the plan for expansion which the concessionaires had been hoping to put into operation. They found too true the comment of the Canadian intendant on the clause exempting them: "I can assure you, My Lord, with absolute certainty, that they will not stay there, and in fact cannot stay there, except to trade in them [beaver skins]; otherwise it will involve them in an expense which they will be unable to bear."[38] There could be no profit after deducting the expense of maintaining the fort. La Forest soon left the Illinois and joined his military company in Canada where he served two years, leaving Tonti in sole charge of their interests in the west.

The two canoes of merchandise which the government permitted to be sent probably arrived annually. In 1698 they were conveyed by Tonti himself from Montreal to the Illinois, and a part of the merchandise was sent to the Arkansas post that Tonti had established several years before.[39] On this journey he acted as guide and companion to some missionary priests from the Seminary of Foreign Missions, of whom more will be heard later. By the historian of the voyage, Father St. Cosme, the following picture of Tonti has been preserved: "I cannot sufficiently express, my lord, the obligations we owe him. He conducted us to the Acanças; he procured us

[37] *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:700; Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 19:72.

[38] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:75.

[39] St. Cosme's journal in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 342 ff.

much pleasure during the voyage; he greatly facilitated our passage through many nations, securing us the friendship of some and intimidating others. . . . . He not only did his duty as a brave man but he also performed those of a zealous missionary, entering into all our views, exhorting the savages everywhere to pray and to listen to the missionaries. He soothed the minds of our servants in their petty whims; he supported by his example the devotional exercises that the journey allowed us to perform and frequently attended the sacraments. . . . . He is the man who best knows these regions; he has twice gone down to the sea; he has been far inland to the most remote tribes, and is beloved and feared everywhere. If it be desired to have discoveries made in this country, I do not think the task could be confided to a more experienced man than he."[40]

In 1700 La Forest returned to the Illinois and spent two years at the post, where Tonti, after making his fourth trip to the gulf to confer with Iberville, seems to have been with him. In the year 1704 Tonti was ordered to report at Mobile and there he died of yellow fever. About the same time La Forest, leaving the fort in charge of Tonti's nephew, the Sieur de Liette, returned to Quebec. Later he was second in command at Detroit and in 1710 commandant. He died at Quebec in 1714.[41] A contemporary wrote of him in 1707: "He is known and beloved by the savages; no one can manage them better. He is no less beloved by the French people because of his good nature and disinterestedness."[42]

The two founders of the settlement in the Illinois country were men respected by all and beloved by many for their ability and kindliness. They spent many years struggling to build up a paying business in the country; and when on the point of succeeding, a change in imperial policy for the west brought to them financial distress. Alphonse de Tonti, a brother of Henri, summed up the situation in a letter of October 13, 1700, to his father in France: "My brother had to go down to the sea to have a conference with him [Iber-

[40] St. Cosme in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 343, 360.
[41] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13 C, 3:151 ff.; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 34:308.
[42] *Ibid.*, 33:316.

ville], but I have not learned the result of their conference. From the little I have heard, it would not seem that there was any project formed; at the same time the only fruit thereof has been expenditure of money to no purpose, having also the chagrin of seeing himself supplanted in an enterprise that was his by right on account of all the fatigues and difficulties that he has endured in his frequent voyages. He is more in debt than when he went to the country. And if the court does not take some notice of his services I do not know what will become of him. Affairs in this colony [New France] are very bad; there is no resource for honest folk, since the abolition of the permits to trade."[43]

The policy of prohibiting the traders from going to the west fell hardest on the Indians, who had become completely dependent upon the fur traders for many of their necessities. Without warning they were thrown back on their own resources or obliged to undergo the hardships of a journey of hundreds of miles to the French settlements. Every delegation of Indians which came to Montreal or Quebec complained of this desertion and demanded that traders be sent. In a conference in the latter part of August, 1697, Onanguisset, a chief of the Potawatomi, said: "Father! since we want powder, iron, and every other necessary which you were formerly in the habit of sending us, what do you expect us to do? Are the majority of our women who have but one or two beavers to send to Montreal to procure their little supplies, are they to intrust them to drunken fellows, who will drink them, and bring nothing back? Thus, having in our country none of the articles we require and which you, last year, promised we should be furnished with, and not want; and perceiving only this — that nothing whatsoever is yet brought to us, and that the French come to visit us no more — you shall never see us again. I promise you, if the French quit us; this, Father, is the last time we shall come to talk with you."[44]

The defeat of the policy of Frontenac and his followers was not so complete as their enemies desired. The conduct of the fur trade on account of its outstanding character had

[43] Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscripts, 9097: 111.
[44] *New York Colonial Documents*, 9: 673.

been made the issue, and on this the anti-Frontenac partisans had united and won; but the victory did not bring with it abandonment of all enterprise in the west. Imperialistic aspiration was still a force in the French court, and its manifestation was to appear in a new form with greater opportunity of reaching its goal. Wandering fur traders could not build an empire in America; their irresponsible acts were more likely to promote Indian wars. Colonists properly governed by French officials, protected by French garrisons, and encouraged to bend their efforts to the cultivation of the soil might extend the empire to the greatest valley in the world. The short intermission between wars, following the treaty of Ryswick, was utilized by an aroused French ministry to promote experiments in imperialism along new lines. A new advance into the west with a firmer foundation in economic life resulted. The period of exploration was developing into one of settlement.

In 1700 the inhabitants of New France, at the suggestion of the governor and the intendant and with the consent of the king, petitioned that the control of the beaver trade be granted to a company composed of the inhabitants resident in the colony and taking shares therein. They pointed out that the monopoly granted to individuals had worked a hardship on the many. A plan for a company was worked out by the inhabitants and established by the king.[45] Except in so far as the prohibition of trade in the interior was affected by exceptions to be noted later, this new organization did not in any way change the method of trade already established. The fur trade was to be conducted at the settled villages with the Indians, who were expected to bring the furs to market.

One of the immediate results of this company was the founding of Detroit. The project owed its inception to the genius of one man, who was in many ways the most interesting figure among the many French adventurers of the west, Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac. He had risen to prominence under Frontenac, who sent him as commandant to Mackinac,

[45] *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux, Declarations,* 280 ff., 285. See also *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 33:42; Shortt and Doughty, *Canada and Its Provinces,* 2:492.

which he was forced to abandon under the order to evacuate the west. While serving in the Great Lakes district, Cadillac had realized the possibilities in the future development of the region and the source of wealth its exploitation might become for him. He drew up an elaborate scheme for the colonization of Detroit, which he selected for his *entrepôt*. Since his success would depend on the reconciliation of all the conflicting interests of Canada, to the farmers who dealt in furs he promised the regulation of the number of packs and a careful supervision of their quality before they were transported to the east; to the inhabitants of Canada, a sure profit in the trade; and he assured the political party interested in curbing the British and the Iroquois, that the new colony would bring their aggressive policy to an end by the concentration of numerous Indian tribes around Detroit; an appeal was also made to the piety of king and missionaries by pointing out the opportunity provided by such concentration for converting and civilizing the natives.[46]

The plan of this business enterprise fell in with the contemporaneous organization of the citizens of Canada into a company for the purpose of conducting the beaver trade, Cadillac becoming its agent and one of its directors. The colony was actually founded in 1701.[47] Traffic in furs could legally be conducted only within the confines of the post and under the control of the commandant and troops representing the royal power, but it was the further purpose of Cadillac to encourage the settlement of colonists. He obtained the right of granting land, and under his leadership Detroit began to grow.

The enterprise of building Detroit did not result in the expected profits, and the company of the colony, shortly afterwards passing through a severe financial crisis, practically bankruptcy, sold out to Cadillac. The particulars of this experiment cannot be dwelt upon; but the existence of Detroit was a force in the development of the Illinois country. It commanded

[46] For a brief statement of Cadillac's purposes and plans see Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:139; but succeeding pages should also be read. Many documents illustrating the settlement of Detroit will be found in translation in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, volume 33; particularly illuminating is the memorandum, p. 108 ff.

[47] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:187.

one of the easiest routes to New France via the Maumee and Wabash rivers, a route that became very important during the later Fox wars; it became immediately the important center of the fur trade in the southern part of the Great Lakes and was the western exchange between Canadian merchants and their more western customers. In the welding of the chain that was to bind the Mississippi valley to Canada, therefore, the establishment of Detroit by Cadillac was a most important link.

Enterprises of a similar character were undertaken in other parts of the west, for the French government's anxiety about the welfare of the Indians was limited to the regulation of the beaver trade. In 1698 Pierre Charles le Sueur received a mining concession, with the right to trade in furs other than beaver in the upper Mississippi valley. A company was immediately formed, but great opposition to the undertaking was aroused, and the concession was canceled the following year.[48]

The next permanent settlement in Illinois after the founding of Peoria was due to the zeal of the missionaries. The honor of establishing it did not fall to the lot of the Jesuits, although they had maintained a practically continuous mission among the Illinois Indians since the time of Father Marquette; instead the credit belongs to newcomers in the western field of missionary toils, the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the Seminary of Foreign Missions had been founded at Quebec under the auspices of the mother institution at Paris. The purpose of the founders was to promote among the priests, in contradistinction to the religious orders such as the Jesuits or Recollects, a zeal for missions. The Seminary priests won their earliest fame as missionaries in China and the Orient, and now the institution determined to enter the American field. In 1685 they began activities in Acadia, but for various reasons, one of which was lack of financial support, they were obliged to postpone their advance into the west. Toward the end of the century the opportunity seemed open, and the Semin-

[48] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6:66 ff. In 1700 Le Sueur voyaged up the Mississippi from its mouth in the search of mines. *Ibid.*, 6:69. See also *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:173 ff.

ary became a rival of the Jesuit order for missionary privileges in the territory south of the Great Lakes.

The rivalry that resulted, while most honorable to the parties concerned, will be misunderstood unless it is realized that the generation which passed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century still thought in terms of monopoly and special privileges, and everybody believed that the best method of accomplishing large undertakings was by the granting of a state monopoly. The principle had been carried over into ecclesiastical operations, as for instance in New France, where the Jesuits enjoyed special rights in the conduct of missions. The advocates of the system could set forth several strong arguments in favor of the method. It was more efficient, less expensive, and avoided needless rivalry.

Bishop de St. Vallier of Quebec, a man of orderly mind and marked organizing ability, believed that it would be better for his diocese to introduce among the missionaries other influences besides those of the Jesuits; and the coming of the Seminary and the opening up of the Mississippi seemed to offer a favorable coincidence, since the Jesuits' rights, or at least their operations, did not extend below the mission among the Illinois on the Illinois river. In 1698, therefore, he granted to the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions the right of establishing themselves along the banks of the Mississippi, and to the superior in charge he assigned the powers of vicar-general, or episcopal representative in the district. Later the bishop named as seat of the new movement Tamaroa, or Cahokia, which had been chosen because its location offered an easy access to the Indian tribes of the Missouri as well as to those farther south on the main stream.[49]

The Seminary of Foreign Missions is today represented by Laval University at Quebec, and there is still standing the old home of the Seminary priests, which should be one of the holy shrines in the memories of Illinoisians, since from it went

[49] The dates of the bishop's acts are May 1 and July 14, 1698. The original documents are in the archives of Laval University, Quebec, which institution has kindly sent me copies. A manuscript history of the "Mission du Seminaire de Quebec chez les Tamarois ou Illinois, sur les Bords du Mississippi," written in 1849 by Father E. A. Taschereau, later chancellor of Laval University, archbishop of Quebec, and cardinal, has been particularly valuable. For a further discussion see Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days,* 538.

forth the founders of an important and early Illinois settlement. The expedition itself was provided at a heavy cost; the Seminary furnished 10,800 livres, and two of the priests who accompanied it contributed from their own purses 4,030 livres more.[50] The later annual expenses, borne partly by the Seminary at Paris but generally by the Quebec institution, were in proportion. The king pledged annual assistance, which was not regularly paid.[51]

For the first missionary expedition of the Seminary there were chosen the Very Reverend Jolliet de Montigny, appointed vicar-general, the Reverend Antoine Davion, and the Reverend Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme. They were accompanied by Tonti, who guided them via Mackinac to the Chicago portage and thence to the Illinois river. At the Jesuit missions along their route they were received with the greatest friendliness. At Chicago they were entertained by Fathers François Pinet and Julien Binneteau; and St. Cosme, the historian of the expedition, wrote: "I cannot describe to you, my lord, with what cordiality and manifestations of friendship these Reverend Fathers received and embraced us while we had the consolation of residing with them."[52]

While *en route* the missionaries learned that their future charges, the Cahokia Indians, had recently suffered from one of those local wars perennial in the lives of the aborigines. The Shawnee, the Chickasaw, and another tribe[53] had attacked them, killed ten, and carried off one hundred as captives. When the missionaries arrived at the village, therefore, they were met with lamentations.

Up to this time no priest had stayed long in the villages of these Indians.[54] The first impression made by the Cahokia on the newcomers was on the whole favorable, since they found them not "so evil-intentioned or so wicked as some Illinois savages had sought to make us believe. The poor people ex-

[50] These were Fathers Montigny and Davion.

[51] Later Father Montigny estimated that it cost 2,000 livres annually to support a missionary on the Mississippi. Taschereau, "Mission du Seminaire de Quebec."

[52] The best translation of St. Cosme's journal is in Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 342 ff.

[53] St. Cosme says the "Kakinanpols." *Ibid.*, 351.

[54] Possibly Fathers Marquette and Gravier had visited here.

cited our pity more than our fears."[55] The next day the missionaries visited the Tamaroa village, a short distance farther south. Below this lived the Michigamea, who had recently been driven from the western banks of the Mississippi to take refuge with their kinsmen.

The missionaries did not stay long on this first visit among the Illinois, but pushed on to the Arkansas river, where they took up their winter quarters. In the spring Fathers Montigny and St. Cosme returned to Tamaroa, or Cahokia, and there established the mission of the Holy Family some time in March, 1699.[56] While Father Montigny went to Chicago to bring down the goods which had been left there on account of the low water in the Des Plaines river, St. Cosme, assisted by two men, busied himself with the building of a house and a chapel. The former was completed by May 20, when Montigny returned. The next year there was sent to take charge of this mission Father Bergier, who was appointed vicar-general of the region after Montigny left.[57]

Before the bishop of Quebec had granted the petition of the Seminary priests to found a mission he had investigated the situation carefully, in particular taking Tonti's testimony, and was convinced that the Jesuits had no mission south of the Illinois river. As the previous narrative has shown, this was correct, but the Jesuits looked upon their mission at Peoria as serving all the Illinois tribes, a view that might be fairly established from the words of the bishop himself;[58] and they had many neophytes at Cahokia. There were other reasons for the opposition of the Jesuits to this move on the part of the Seminary. They had conducted a long struggle with the civil powers, and just recently the Comte de Frontenac had

[55] Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 355.

[56] The date was sometime before March 29. See Fortier, "Establishment of the Tamarois Mission," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1908, p. 236.

[57] *Ibid.*, 236; "Relation de Pénicaut," in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:408.

[58] In appointing Father Gravier vicar-general in 1690, Bishop St. Vallier recognized the Illinois mission as having existed "for the last twenty years" and he confides to the care of the Jesuits "this mission of the Islinois and other surrounding nations. . . . as well as those of the Miamis, Sious, and others in the Ottawa country, and towards the West." Quoted in Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, 535.

attempted to drive them from their mission at Chicago; they may have suspected that there was some connection between the coming of these new missionaries and the intrigues of their old opponents. Then, too, at this time the whole question of mission rights to the valley of the Mississippi was raised to a vital issue by the establishment of the province of Louisiana. Which order should serve this new province with its enormous territory? Therefore the contest waged over the mission of Cahokia, or Tamaroa, was connected by many ramifications with civil and ecclesiastical politics.

A few weeks after St. Cosme began building at Cahokia, the Jesuit father, Julien Binneteau, appeared at the village; he was soon followed by Fathers Pierre Pinet and Joseph Limoges and they began the erection of a building as a sign of the rights of their order.[59] The contest was, on the whole, carried on by the participants with dignity and mutual respect. Naturally, considering the magnitude of the issue at stake, there was some passion exhibited at times. The stalwart champion of Jesuit rights, Father Gravier, uttered some harsh judgments; and Father Montigny did not always keep his temper. Presently the situation in the valley became so strained that the latter found his position difficult and embarrassing. He determined, therefore, to go to France, to set forth his case before the authorities, and to secure an adjustment of the jurisdiction; and accordingly he embarked at Biloxi with the Sieur d'Iberville in May, 1700.

The question was also brought to an issue by the Jesuits themselves, who petitioned the bishop of Quebec that they be granted the exclusive direction of the French posts in Louisiana and that the superior of their mission be always the vicar-general. At the same time they complained to the king of the intrusion of the Seminary priests.

Both sides had thus brought the embarrassing issue to court, where there appears to have been some hesitancy about reaching a decision. Both parties to the dispute wielded immense power and influence in both court and church. The king asked for the opinion of the bishop of Quebec who, after consulting other ecclesiastics, said that he was opposed to

[59] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:408.

granting any exclusive rights. The king had, meanwhile, referred the question of the Tamaroa mission to a committee of French bishops, who decided on June 7, 1701, that the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions "shall dwell alone in the establishment at the place called Tamaroa and that they shall receive in a friendly manner the Jesuit fathers when they shall pass there in going to attend the Illinois and Tamaroa at their fishing and hunting grounds where the said Jesuit fathers may establish themselves, if they judge it fitting. All this determined with the good pleasure of the king and in the presence of and with the consent of the bishop of Quebec."[60]

The decision seems to mean that the Jesuits were to attend generally to the religious needs of the Illinois tribes. An exception was made concerning the Tamaroa and Cahokia when occupying their home villages, where they were to be served by the Seminary priests. This was the solution, at least, as it was worked out on the American Bottom. On learning the decision, the Jesuits left their buildings at Cahokia to a caretaker and retired to Kaskaskia. The lesser question was decided; but the larger issue, the religious oversight of the province, they could confidently trust to a final recognition of their efficient organization.

[60] Collection Moreau St. Mery, volume 6, tome 2, p. 258. See also Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4:634; Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, 541, 543.

VII. THE FOUNDATION OF LOUISIANA

"THE English are coming; they are on the Ohio; among the Chickasaw; everywhere they are robbing us of our trade." Such were the cries heard throughout Canada and the west. The immediate danger from the English was undoubtedly exaggerated to impress Versailles, and exaggerated also were the stories of their encroachments upon the French trading territory. Still the danger was very real, as later years were to prove; and it is time for the reader to leave the red men and the sturdy French invaders in the Illinois country and from the top of the Allegheny mountains obtain a clearer view of the scouts of the advancing army of British pioneers, as they clamber up the eastern slopes, pause a moment at the first view of the expanding panorama, and rush pell-mell down the ravines to the valleys of the westward-flowing rivers. They were in the fullness of time to take the Illinois country captive and to establish within it a community of English speech.

In England more than in France — where Colbert's reforms proved abortive — the seventeenth century gave birth to the era of modern commerce. Then the desire for quick profits became the mother of discovery and settlement in the new country. Hemmed in by the mountains, however, the British colonies could not and did not play the brilliant part in the exploration of the western continent that fell to the lot of Spain and France. Their advance was necessarily slower, and for that reason more healthy and substantial. Fate did not place on them the support of far-off villages in the heart of the continent before there were populous settlements on the seacoast to afford a safe base for operations.

In every advance across the continent the British vanguard was composed of men hardened and trained for service in the environment of the frontier, that border line of civilization and savagery ever slowly and inexorably shifting westward. The

motive for their advance was economic betterment; each man hoped, as he pushed into the unknown, to discover some rich storehouse of furs, some mine to exploit, some fertile land whereon to set a home. No autocratic government either directed or controlled the movement of the individuals; yet thousands of traders and farmers, each his own guide and his own master or the agent of city merchant or land speculator, pushed into the wilderness, overcame opposing forces, and occupied the land. The planting of English speech in the valley of the Mississippi was almost unconsciously accomplished; the government of Great Britain was represented in the operation for the most part by private citizens, not by officials and soldiers.

From the colony of Virginia came the English explorers of the first real frontier. In 1645 there were established forts at those points where the waters of the rivers fall from the highlands into the seacoast plain; around these forts collected gradually the typical pioneer and border elements of the population; and in the next generation was evolved the first truly American backwoods society with all its familiar characteristics: Indian trade, exploration, hunting, trapping; the raising of hogs, cattle, and horses, which were branded and ran loose in the wild lands; pioneer farming, capitalistic engrossment; in general the exploitation of the wilderness. The American frontiersman, a new type in history, was developed before 1700.[1]

The period of exploitation of the hinterland began with the actual establishment of the forts. By 1670 the piedmont as far as the foothills of the mountains was well known to the fur traders, although no known person had crossed the mountain divide. In this decade western exploration received the impetus needed for a successful fulfillment of its object — the discovery of westward-flowing waters. In England, where the commonwealth had given way to the court of Charles II, society, worn out by the endless disputes of sectarians and the bloody battles of the civil war, turned abruptly to material interests and gave birth to the modern business world.

[1] For a much more complete description of this frontier society and the early explorations of the west, see introduction in Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians.*

Merchants and noblemen sought means of making money quickly.

The same group of British politicians and speculators who were contemporaneously competing with the French on Hudson bay and in New York were responsible for the initial enterprises in Virginia and the Carolinas that pushed explorers and traders across the mountains. In 1671, Captain Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam crossed the mountains and, near the eastern boundary of modern West Virginia, took possession of the territory in the name of King Charles II.[2] Their simple ceremony, symbolic of the British advance, occurred three months after St. Lusson at Sault Ste. Marie had proclaimed King Louis XIV monarch of the west. Almost simultaneously the two kingdoms staked out their claims to the great valley.

Still more important in its immediate consequences was the opening to trade of the region of modern Tennessee. The heroes of this exploration were James Needham, a gentleman freeholder of South Carolina, and Gabriel Arthur, an illiterate servant. They started from Fort Henry on Appomattox river on April 10, 1673, and succeeded, by journeying south over the Carolina piedmont and then west, in reaching either the Tennessee river or one of its branches and in establishing trade relations with the Cherokee.[3] Although these expeditions have been almost ignored by historians, they are of great significance. The British colonists were ahead of the French in the strategic location south of the Ohio river. Here they had begun a trade with the Indians and had thereby established political relations with them, before their rivals had secured the control of the mouth of the Mississippi river.

In this movement westward the Carolinians, controlling the easiest route, soon took the lead; they did not follow the difficult trail of Needham but discovered one leading through the Creek villages avoiding the barrier to British western expansion, the Appalachians, and as early as 1690 were carrying on a brisk trade with the Chickasaw and the Cherokee.

In these enterprises the British received assistance from

[2] For the complete story, consult Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians*, introduction.

[3] *Ibid.*, introduction.

renegade French *coureurs de bois.* In 1692 Martin Chartier, one of the men who had deserted La Salle, wandered to Maryland.[4] More important was Jean Couture, who had commanded at Tonti's Arkansas post. Some time between 1690 and 1693 he made his way up the Tennessee river — the first white man known to have traveled this route — and reached South Carolina. Here he was cordially received by the foremost advocates of western enterprises; he aroused their enthusiasm by his accounts of mines of precious metals and of the riches of the fur trade and brought home to them the danger from the threatening occupation of the central valley by the French.

From this moment the struggle between France and England assumed its continental form in the minds of American officials. In 1695 Governor Nicholson of Maryland was urging an aggressive policy to prevent the French from carrying out their designs. Later, when governor of Virginia, he was actively corresponding with Lord Bellomont of New York and Joseph Blake of South Carolina to promote concerted action. Governor Blake was intensely interested in the proposed policy but felt confident that the Carolina traders would defeat the French projects.[5]

There was some reason for confidence. A group of traders guided by Jean Couture had been sent via the Tennessee and Ohio rivers to establish trade with the Indians west of the Mississippi river; it was hoped to cut off all French progress south of the Ohio. In February, 1700, the party reached the post on the Arkansas river, which their guide had formerly commanded, and established relations with the Quapaw.[6] The region south of the Ohio and across the Mississippi seemed about to come into the British sphere of influence. It is interesting to note that thus early had men of English speech skirted the boundary of the future state of Illinois and possibly had encamped upon its shores.

[4] Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail,* 1:126 ff.

[5] On this whole paragraph consult the able article by V. W. Crane, "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 3:3 ff.

[6] Besides the article cited in the previous note see the account by Iberville in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 4:362, 418, 430; Charlevoix, *History of New France* (ed. Shea), 5:124.

This activity at the back of the mountains brought a knowledge of the riches of the territory and naturally gave rise to the impulse to exploit it. Among the first to feel the full force of this westward pull was Dr. Daniel Coxe of London. He was interested in New Jersey lands and from his experience, although he had never been in America, he became familiar with the fur trade. He testifies that his agents had discovered the route to the Great Lakes.[7]

At some time prior to 1698 Coxe purchased the patent of "Carolana," which included the English rights to the southern Mississippi valley.[8] Having imagination to see the potential wealth of the territory, he began immediately to bombard the British government with memorials which stressed the strategic position of his proposed colony. For his propaganda he found an able and not too scrupulous assistant in Father Hennepin, quondam friend and associate of La Salle, who now printed the famous modification of his journeyings, in which he claimed for himself the honor of discovering the mouth of the Mississippi river.[9]

King William III and his advisers were greatly impressed by Coxe's statements and gave their approval of the scheme, but the outbreak of war and the death of the king ended the well-founded hopes of the promoter. As will be described on a later page,[10] Coxe did fit out two armed vessels, one of which in the course of time entered the Mississippi river. It arrived too late.

The push of the British traders westward was watched with jealous eyes by the French in Canada. Many of them had supported La Salle's project and still hoped to see its fulfillment. Shortly after his return, La Salle's brother, Father Jean Cavelier, drew up a memorial on the subject, in which

[7] Coxe, "Account of New Jersey," in *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 7:327 ff.; Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians*, 231, note 184.

[8] *Ibid.*, 239.

[9] In 1698 Hennepin published *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très Grand Pays, situé dans l'Amérique, entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer glaciale*, which he dedicated to King William III. In 1698 he published *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*. Finally these two volumes were combined in 1698 in *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, extending above four thousand miles between New France and New Mexico*, etc. For a discussion of Hennepin's publications consult Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, 4:247 ff., and Hennepin, *New Discovery* (ed. Thwaites), 1:xiv ff.

[10] See below, p. 128.

he devoted much space to the threat of the British of the northern colonies and strongly recommended the founding of a colony in the Illinois country, which in his judgment would prevent them from trading with the Indians. A colony, he believed, should also be placed at the mouth of the Mississippi, partly because the transportation of products by this river was much cheaper and the route was always open, but chiefly because a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi was needed to protect the Illinois from the British. "If the English," he argued, "once render themselves masters of the Colbert [Mississippi], for which they are working with all their power . . . . they will also gain the Illinois, the Ottawa, and all the nations with whom the French of New France carry on trade." He prophesied that, when this should happen, Canada would be destroyed.[11]

Probably this memorial voiced the opinion of many friends and even of some enemies of La Salle. In 1694, Henri de Tonti wrote in the same strain, using similar arguments.[12] La Porte de Louvigny, captain of the troops of the marine in Canada, and the Sieur d'Ailleboust de Mantet, a lieutenant, also submitted a plan, on October 14, 1697, to revive La Salle's project, which they were certain could be carried out without great expense to the crown. A proposal that perhaps had greater direct influence on the French ministry was fathered by the Sieur de Rémonville, a friend of La Salle and acquainted with the west, and a Sieur Argoud, an associate of those scientists who had interested themselves in La Salle's discoveries.[13] They painted in no indistinct colors the danger arising from the British aggression, even utilizing a rumor that William Penn was sending a company of fifty men to make an establishment on the Ohio river. Rémonville and Argoud proposed to form a company to which the king should cede all land on the Gulf of Mexico lying between Florida and Mexico and extending north to the rivers of the Illinois. Within these boundaries, it was proposed that the company should exercise exclusive trading privileges for fifty years.[14]

[11] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 3: 586 ff.
[12] *Ibid.*, 4: 3 ff.
[13] *Ibid.*, 4: introduction p. v, 4: 9 ff.
[14] *Ibid.*, 27, 34 ff.

Political and commercial circles in France were friendly to the idea underlying these various memorials, and the king was easily persuaded to favor the project of a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. As early as 1697 the decision had evidently been reached, for he wrote to the commissioners negotiating the treaty of Ryswick not to bring the question of the possession of the Mississippi valley into dispute, since he intended to send some vessels there to assure French dominion.[15]

The official who was most instrumental in bringing to a favorable decision the issue of the settlement of Louisiana was the Marquis Jérôme Phélypeaux, better known under one of his later titles, the Comte de Maurepas (1697) or the Comte de Pontchartrain (1699). At the time of this earlier discussion of the project he was serving in the marine under his father, whom he replaced in 1699. His is a notable place in the history of North America, for he had insight where others were blind. Weak of constitution himself, Pontchartrain watched with interest the heroic deeds of the explorers and experienced a keen disappointment in his own inability to participate in them. Believers in exploiting the west received from him hearty support, and he followed with anxiety the moves of Great Britain toward the occupation of the Mississippi valley. Full information of the plans of Dr. Coxe was laid before the ministry, and the fear of anticipation by the British undoubtedly hastened the final decision.[16]

There is danger of misinterpreting the American policy of the French ministry, unless the prohibition of the fur trade in New France is associated with the contemporary plan of establishing a new colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The latter was a broad-gauge plan for the future development of the French colonial system in America. Not the beaver trade, but real settlement in a land of mild climate, was to be the foundation of the new enterprise. The future alone would tell whether or not the French nation would emerge a great colonial empire from the competition for America. The government was prepared, however, at the close of the seventeenth century, to put to the touch its destiny and to adopt the policy

[15] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4: introduction, p. LV.
[16] *Ibid.*, introduction, p. XV.

of expansion. The mistakes of Talon and Jolliet, of Frontenac and La Salle, were to be avoided; and their dream of an imperial empire in North America seemed on the point of becoming a reality.

Several considerations in addition to the fear of the British strengthened Pontchartrain's determination to promote the Mississippi settlement. The mouth of the river offered a port free from ice, and the near-by Spanish settlements as well as the numerous Indian tribes gave hope of a profitable trade. The geographical problem offered by the Mississippi was not without weight. Some people doubted its very existence; and La Salle's friends, anxious to justify their hero's activities, added their influence to the support of the project.

To insure success, a divided command such as had wrecked the expedition of La Salle was avoided by the choice of a leader who was both a sailor and an explorer. This was Pierre le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville, the third son of Charles le Moyne. Born in 1661 in Canada, trained in the French navy and familiar from youth with war in the American wilds, he was in every way fitted for the undertaking. His conquest of the forts on Hudson bay and a daring campaign in Newfoundland had already shown his fearlessness, and by his leadership of men he had proved himself to be the most adroit captain in French America.[17]

Iberville was instructed, on July 23, 1698, to "reconnoitre the mouth of the Mississippi," and to raise a fort so that no other nations should gain a foothold.[18] Three months later he set sail in two frigates and on January 24, 1699, reached the coast of the gulf not far from Apalachicola. Since his object was to find the mouth of the great river, he sailed carefully along the coast, keeping a sharp lookout; he passed Pensacola, which the Spaniards had just founded in the hope of forestalling the French; and finally, on March 2, he entered the Mississippi. In order to make sure that the long-sought river was really

[17] An excellent popular account of Iberville is to be found in Reed, *The First Great Canadian.*

[18] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 4:73 ff. His public instructions gave as objects: 1, to discover the mouth of the Mississippi; 2, to make plans to obtain buffalo wool; 3, to search for pearls; 4, to look for mulberry trees; 5, to discover mines. Then follow plans for Le Sueur's journey to the Sioux country. *Ibid.,* 348 ff.

found, he ascended it some distance in an attempt to identify places described by his predecessors. He visited Indians who told him about the passage of Tonti in a search for La Salle, and he received from an Indian chief the letter which the Italian had left for his leader. This last proof was sufficient. The commander finally built a fort at Biloxi and then sailed for France on May 3.

In the establishment of Biloxi the French had beaten the British by only a few months in the race to secure the mouth of the Mississippi. A British vessel sent out by Dr. Coxe, after passing by the mouth and sailing to the coast of Texas, entered the river on August 29, 1699; and in the next few days it sailed up the stream for about one hundred miles. Here it was encountered by Jean Baptiste le Moyne, sieur de Bienville, Iberville's brother, who ordered the captain to turn back, as the country had been occupied by the French. The Englishman disputed the claim, asserting that "the English had discovered and taken possession more than fifty years before." He swore further that he would return with a larger force and establish a settlement.[19]

The story of the next few years of trial in the new colony does not belong to the history of Illinois; the fact of its existence suffices for this narrative. That the new colony did not thrive during these early years must be noted. The European war, known as the War of the Spanish Succession, made all intercourse between the mother country and the colonies very difficult, and the infant colony passed through precarious years. Still it was kept alive, and, until Iberville died of yellow fever in 1706, supreme efforts were made to maintain it and to spread its sphere of influence throughout the upper Mississippi valley.

Intercourse between Biloxi and the Illinois country was established almost immediately. Tonti, with five canoes laden with furs, reached Biloxi on February 16, 1700; his nineteen companions on the trip were said to be married and living in Cahokia or on the Illinois river. The fathers of the Seminary

[19]All that has been preserved of Captain Bond's log is printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Règime*, 415 ff.; see also Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4: 360 ff.

of Foreign Missions and the Jesuit missionary, Father Gravier, also came.[20]

The colony of Louisiana also spread its tentacles northward. Pierre Charles le Sueur in 1700 made a voyage of discovery up the river in search of mines. He reached Cahokia in June, visited the Galena mines, and canoed up the Minnesota river, where he erected a fort; the next spring he brought back furs and several boatloads of worthless ore but in 1702 abandoned his whole enterprise.[21] An agent of Iberville, named Villedieu, made a search for a copper mine which was reported to lie between Cahokia and the Illinois river, and for a lead mine near by. At about the same time men were dispatched to the Illinois to hunt buffaloes; they were promised seven livres for each pelt, should the hair prove valuable for weaving.[22]

Iberville had conceived far-reaching plans for the Illinois. In 1702 he set forth his ideas in an elaborate memorial, which makes clear the significance of many happenings in the north.[23] In spite of vociferous protests from New France, Iberville treated the Illinois country as lying within his jurisdiction and proceeded to dispose of its future. His policy, like that of La Salle, contemplated an extensive rearrangement of the native tribes. He planned to move the Illinois Indians from the Illinois river to the Ohio, which he asserted was uninhabited. The places thus left vacant should be occupied by the Mascoutens, the Kickapoo, and the Miami tribes. The Sioux he proposed to locate on the lower Missouri, and certain of the Missouri tribes on the Arkansas river; he even contemplated uprooting the Assiniboin far to the north. "In four or five years," he writes, "we can establish a commerce with these savages of sixty to eighty thousand buffalo skins and more than one hundred and fifty thousand skins of bucks, stags and deer, which it will be necessary to have prepared on the spot and which will produce, delivered in France, a return of more than two million five hundred thousand livres yearly. From a buffalo skin, bull or cow, can be obtained on the average four or five pounds of good wool, which sells at twenty sous, and two pounds of hair at ten

[20] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4: 364.
[21] *Ibid.*, 5: 416 ff. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 177 ff.
[22] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4: 375.
[23] *Ibid.*, 593 ff.

sous. Besides there will be made annually from smaller peltries, bears, wolfs, lynx, otters, raccoons, foxes, martins, etc., above two hundred thousand livres."[24] To this peltry trade he added the possibility of exploiting vast mineral wealth.

Such a rearrangement of the tribes as proposed would require new trading and military posts to furnish the natives with goods. Hence at the moment when the Canadian merchants, jealous of the newly founded southern colony, were recommending to the ministry the establishment of western trading posts, Iberville was making a similar recommendation from Louisiana. He desired three such stations, one on the Arkansas, one on the Ohio, and the third on the Missouri, around which settlers should be encouraged to make homes. Iberville recommended that boundaries between New France and Louisiana be established in such a way that the lands watered by the Mississippi system should belong to the southern province. Should his plans be put into execution, he pointed out, New France would no longer complain of a glut of beavers in its markets, the British would be prevented from continuing their encroachments in the west, and in case of war the French could "raise more than twelve thousand good men to march against Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina."

The ministry's reaction to these proposals was not altogether favorable. In a letter to the Canadian government, Pontchartrain expressed skepticism about the value of moving Indian nations around in the high-handed way proposed, nor was he ready to separate Illinois from New France. He was willing, however, to permit the settlement of Canadians on the Mississippi banks, provided they could be prevented from trading in beavers; this was somewhat of a departure from the policy previously announced.[25]

The adjustment of the beaver trade was always a perplexing problem to the French ministry. It has been seen that the new company of the Canadians had received, as had their predecessors, a monopoly of it; and this arrangement proved very unsatisfactory to Iberville. The British were competing; French and Indians were conveying beaver skins to their colo-

[24] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4:600.
[25] *Ibid.*, 607 ff.

nies — others had followed the route of Jean Couture — and many traders naturally found it easier to bring their loads down the Mississippi to Biloxi than to transport them to Canada. Iberville petitioned the government to remove at least temporarily the restriction on the beaver trade in Louisiana, and the ministry arranged that a clerk from Canada should be stationed at Biloxi to buy such furs as were already there; but for the future the trade was forbidden.[26]

The plans of Iberville for the rearrangement of the Indian tribes on the checkerboard of the Mississippi valley were not carried out, partly because of the inability of the home government ever to inaugurate any well-conceived plan for promoting the colonies and partly because of the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, which engrossed the interest of French minds for a dozen years. The nearer and more immediate advantages in European politics were preferred to distant and imperial interests.

The influence of the master mind of the Louisiana governor, however, was felt on the Illinois river; and his appeal to the native tribes living there raised an issue between them. The Kaskaskia were in favor of heeding the call and of occupying the Ohio river valley; but to this plan the Peoria and Moingwena offered violent opposition. The French settlers of the region favored the Kaskaskia side of the issue, and the resident missionary, Father Marest, later wrote: "I also took steps for endeavoring to assemble the ilinois at wabache [Ohio]."[27]

The quarrel was at its height when Father Gravier, who had been absent from the mission for some time, arrived and, speaking with his usual forcefulness to the chiefs in full council, brought about peace. This missionary, whose relations with New France had been close for many years, did not approve of Iberville's policy. Also he may have had reason to fear that the Illinois would pass under the missionary influence of the Seminary priests, should they go so far south. He tried, therefore, to persuade the Kaskaskia and the French to give up their plan, but without success. He looked with foreboding on this

[26] Crane, "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3:14; Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4:628, and *passim*.

[27] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:39.

separation of the tribes and the removal of the mission. He wrote: "God grant that the road from Chikagoua [Chicago] to the strait [Peoria] be not closed, and that the entire Illinois mission may not suffer greatly thereby. I admit to you, my Reverend Father, that my heart is heavy at seeing my former flock thus divided and scattered; and I shall never see it again, after having left it, without having some new Cause for affliction. The Peouaroua [Peoria], whom I left without a missionary (for Father Marest has Followed the Kaskaskia), promised me that they would preserve the Church, and await my return from Mississippi whither, I told them, I was going solely for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of all that was said of it. This gave them great pleasure: they promised me that they would never leave their Village until I should inform them to what place the great Chief who is at the lower end of the River wished them to remove. I am very doubtful whether they will keep their word."[28]

The mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskia was thus destined for a third removal. When Father Marquette founded it in 1674, the Kaskaskia occupied a village near the site of modern Utica. Father Gravier moved the mission to Peoria when Tonti built the new Fort St. Louis at that place. Finally, in September, 1700, the Kaskaskia, accompanied by Father Gabriel Marest, moved southward and settled on the lower end of the American Bottom near the Kaskaskia river; and in the neighborhood the French traders formed a village by themselves. Thus was founded romantic Kaskaskia. Here the mission — later parish — was established, and its records contain a continuous history from that year to the present day.

By the establishment of Cahokia and the removal of Kaskaskia, the region that was later to be known as the American Bottom became the center of French life, instead of the valley of the Illinois river, as La Salle had intended. The American Bottom, the gift of the Missouri river, extends from opposite the mouth of that river southward for about seventy miles, to

[28] Gravier letter in Shea, *Early Voyages*, 117; Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:103. See also the account of Pénicaut in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:472.

TYPICAL BOTTOM LAND FOREST
[Reproduced from Ridgway, *Additional Notes on the Native Trees of the Lower Wabash Valley*]

the point where the Kaskaskia river formerly emptied its waters into the Mississippi. On the west at that time the great river was hidden from view by a wide screen of trees. On the east rises perpendicularly for about a hundred feet a stretch of limestone bluffs, cutting off the lowlands from the prairies beyond. Between lies some of the most fertile land in North America, where Nature painted a primeval scene of tropical prodigality: ponds covered with gorgeous water lilies and fringed with tall grasses; trees matted with grapevines; forests made impassable by the wealth of undergrowth. Luxuriance and fertility invite man to indolence and repose. Little wonder that this small strip of territory has become the most historic in all the state. In the days before recorded history began it was the cradle of the most highly developed Indian culture in the state, a culture that has left as its monument the impressive mounds that thickly dot the level surface of the rich bottom. Along its narrow plain were scattered the first permanent villages of the white men, where centered the history of this great state for over a hundred years. Here was written the romance of early Illinois; on this small area were enacted scenes that marked the passing of empires.

Another Illinois event was closely connected with Iberville's plan. He had been greatly impressed by the British trading expedition which had used the Tennessee and Ohio rivers to reach the Arkansas. His alarm was confirmed when he learned that a group of French traders, probably from Cahokia, had journeyed by the same route to carry furs to the British colonies.[29] In his opinion the only means of preventing such activities was the establishment of a post at the mouth of the Ohio. In Charles Juchereau de St. Denys, lieutenant general of the jurisdiction of Montreal, who already had obtained permission to go to the Mississippi, he found the man for the task. The Louisiana governor persuaded the ministry to grant to Juchereau a concession of land — the Indians were not consulted — of two leagues on both sides of the Ohio and six leagues in depth, for the purpose of establishing a tannery.[30] The con-

[29] Crane, "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3: 14.

[30] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 4: 478, 487.

cessionaire was permitted to send eight canoes with twenty-four men and two officers to found his establishment and thereafter to dispatch annually three canoes.[31] He was prohibited from trading in beaver, but might open lead and copper mines.

Juchereau set out on his journey in the early summer of 1702 and followed the water course via Mackinac and the Fox-Wisconsin portage. While *en route* he was joined by Father Jean Mermet of the Miami mission, who had been appointed missionary of the expedition. The flotilla was stopped by the Foxes, but upon proving that he did not intend to trade with the Sioux, and after paying one thousand écus tribute, Juchereau was permitted by these savages to pursue his journey.[32] The site of his tannery was later described as being on a height overlooking the Ohio two leagues up from the mouth on the right bank, where all later maps mark an old French post; this would place it at or near the present site of Cairo. Around his post Juchereau collected the Mascoutens, who were to hunt for him.[33]

The usual opposition arose in New France to this concession. The intendant particularly was inclined to protest at the permission to send three canoes a year into this distant region, and the king replied that if Juchereau traded in beaver his concession should be revoked. Juchereau assured the authorities, however, that he intended to keep faith, that the enterprise had already cost him forty thousand livres, that the right of sending canoes was necessary, as he wished to take his family to the new country as soon as possible; and that, in any event, products could be sent down the Mississippi much more easily than by the difficult route to Canada.[34]

This enterprise was not destined to succeed. During the second summer the post was visited by an epidemic, probably of malaria, which struck down the leader himself;[35] and his workmen went to join the French colony on Mobile bay.

[31] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5: 349 ff., 366.

[32] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33: 175.

[33] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]C, 1: 346 ff. The document states that the post was on the "left" bank, but the description is written by one stationed at the mouth and facing upstream.

[34] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5: 363, 366 ff. Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 23: 180 ff.

[35] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5: 368; 6: 180.

Among the survivors was the second in command, Lambert Mandeville, who later presented to the court a memoir on the minerals of the Illinois country; in this he says that he had brought down the river from the tannery a large amount of leather and skins, but having no shelter, he was obliged to stack them on the banks of the river, where many were stolen by the Indians and the others ruined by a rise of the water.[36]

During the years of the war, 1701–1713, the news of the happenings in the Illinois country did not frequently float down the Mississippi nor follow the toilsome route over the numerous portages to Quebec. Consequently the information concerning the little settlements established on the banks of the Mississippi or concerning the fort at Peoria is most meager, and the historian is obliged to make a patchwork of brief accounts of a few detached events.

When Tonti departed in 1704, he left his nephew, the Sieur de Liette, as his representative in the Illinois. The latter had come to the country in 1687, while still very young, and had immediately set about learning the Illinois language by accompanying the savages on their hunts; he soon became a master of it and acquired at the same time the confidence of his associates and a knowledge of their habits. His superiors regarded him with confidence and in 1721 wrote that he had given "good evidence of the sagacity, valor, ability, and experience necessary and fitting for the glory of the name of his Majesty, the good of the service of the Company, and the advantage of the commerce." His enthusiasm for the Illinois country was unbounded, and he pronounced it "without contradiction the most beautiful known between the mouth of the St. Lawrence river and that of the Mississippi." In a memorial which he drew up at Montreal in the year 1721, after a long residence in the Illinois, he described it and its inhabitants in great detail and proved himself to have been a careful observer.[37]

[36] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13C, 2:346, 471 ff.

[37] De Gannes, "Memoir Concernant le Pays Illinois," in Ayer's collection, Newberry Library. The authorship, in spite of the signature, cannot be questioned. The movements of its author fit but one man, Liette. The signature either has been misread or is that of some receiving clerk which a copyist has mistaken for the author; probably the latter is the case. On Liette, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:333; letter September 5, 1721, Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 43:10 ff.; letter to Vaudreuil, May 8, 1725, *ibid.*, B, 48:741.

The most outstanding event of the period was due to the disorders among the Indians at Peoria. An outbreak, almost a war, was incited by the Ottawa, who persuaded the Illinois tribes to attack the Indians gathered around Cadillac's village at Detroit. Cadillac chose a poor means of retaliation. He writes: "We contented ourselves with whipping them [fifteen warriors] with birch rods when they arrived at the fort, to make them understand that I was treating them like a father."[38] The treatment had the opposite effect, for the next year the Illinois attacked both the Miami and the French. Cadillac, who was as suspicious as La Salle, attributed the outbreak of hostilities to Father Gravier and Tonti, a gratuitous slander, as the result proved, for the hostility of the Indians was directed equally against them.

Father Gravier had returned to the Peoria mission shortly after his journey to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1700 and continued his services as a missionary among them until 1705. In that year the governor of New France, after learning of the murder of one of the French soldiers, ordered Liette to bring some of the head men of the Peoria to Montreal. Accordingly, several Indians started for the east; but at Mackinac the principal chief, Mantouchensa, was persuaded by the Ottawa that the French were really afraid of the red men and that he should so act as to increase this fear. The Indians therefore deserted Liette and returned home, where they stirred the whole tribe to sedition. "He [Mantouchensa] loudly harangued that a person who took notice of everything, as the black gown did, should not be tolerated; that, after killing these French, they need use no further moderation toward the others; that they must be got rid of, and that the savages must make themselves redoubtable beyond question, in imitation of their neighbors."[39]

Fired by such words, an Indian who thought he had a grievance shot several arrows at Gravier, hitting him in the arm. Later two hundred Indians surrounded the wounded man's house to attack him, but desisted upon learning that friends were with him. The father was finally rescued by

[38] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:234.
[39] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:53.

Indians sent by a brother missionary, Father Mermet, at Kaskaskia; and after his arm, in which an arrowhead had been left, was unskillfully lanced, he was sent down the river and then to France. Two years later he tried to return, but died at Mobile.

A fellow missionary, Father Marest, after mentioning the short missions of Father Marquette and Father Allouez to the Illinois villages, writes: "Thus it is properly Father Gravier who ought to be regarded the founder of the Illinois Mission; it was he who first made clear the principles of their language, and who reduced them to rules of Grammar; we have only perfected that which he successfully began. At first, this Missionary had much to suffer from the Charlatans, and his life was exposed to continual dangers; but nothing discouraged him and he surmounted all obstacles by his patience and his gentleness."[40]

In 1706 the governor-general of New France ordered the French allies at Detroit to avenge the murders committed by the Peoria and prohibited all traders from visiting the village; but the French ministry did not approve of such drastic measures, preferring to maintain peace among their allies in order to be prepared for an expected attack by the Iroquois, and in 1707 ordered that peace be made.[41]

Several events resulted from this Indian war. Fifty Canadians from the Illinois villages went down the river with Father Gravier, carrying a large amount of beaver skins. How many, if any, returned, is unknown. Another consequence was the temporary abandonment of the Peoria mission, and for a year or more all communication between the Illinois country and New France was broken off.[42]

Whether these Indian disturbances forced the Sieur de Liette to make his headquarters at one of the villages of the American Bottom is not known; but the floating population of the region was evidently establishing itself there. Father Gravier, writing of conditions before 1706, mentions French

[40] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:245, 125 ff. The account is drawn from a letter by Father Mermet, March 2, 1706, *ibid.*, 5 ff.

[41] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 29:58 ff. *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:805; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33:391.

[42] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:135, 267.

settlers, but on the other hand, Father Marest seems to indicate that in 1712 there were no regular colonists near him. Mandeville in a memoir written between the years 1712 and 1715 mentions a score of "French *voyageurs* who have established themselves there and have married Indian women. They have constructed a windmill." A memoir from New France contains an account of forty-seven *coureurs de bois* at Cahokia, "living there at their ease; as grain thrives in that region they have built a mill, and have a great many cattle." The parish records of Kaskaskia show that between 1701 and 1713 there were baptized twenty-one infants, whose fathers with one exception were apparently Frenchmen; in eighteen cases the mothers were evidently Indians.[43]

The picture of the activities of the Jesuits that one receives from the contemporary accounts is most interesting. In the midst of the greatest hardships they persevered in their endeavors, journeying from camp to camp on winter and summer hunts, exhorting their converts to practice the christian virtues. Father Marest thus describes the hardships endured: "Although the summer hunt is shorter, it is nevertheless more fatiguing; it cost the life of the late Father Bineteau. He accompanied the Savages in the greatest heat of the month of July; sometimes he was in danger of smothering amid the grass, which was extremely high; sometimes he suffered cruelly from thirst, not finding in the dried-up prairies a single drop of water to allay it. By day he was drenched with perspiration, and at night he was obliged to sleep on the ground, — exposed to the dew, to the harmful effects of the air, and to many other inconveniences, concerning which I will not go into detail. These hardships brought upon him a violent sickness, from which he expired in my arms."[44]

Of Father Mermet, his colleague testifies: "Nevertheless,

[43] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 127, 231, 247; Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]C, 1: 346 ff. In the relation of Pénicaut, 1708, there is mention of the French settlers, and again in 1711 he writes of several merchants of Canada descending the Mississippi from Kaskaskia and bringing complaints of the French settlers there. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5: 475; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 332; "Kaskaskia Church Records," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1904, p. 395 ff. On succeeding pages will be found other evidence of a population in the Illinois villages, but it was floating in character.

[44] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 253.

in spite of his feeble health, I can say that he is the soul of this Mission: it is his virtue, his gentleness, his pathetic instructions, and the peculiar talent that he has of winning the respect and the friendship of the Savages, which have brought our Mission to the flourishing state in which it is."[45]

Neither suffering nor danger of death diverted these men from their duties. The attack on Father Gravier by the Peoria must have been disheartening, but in 1711 Father Marest visited these very Indians again; and, at their earnest request, Father Jean Marie de Ville was sent to reëstablish the mission.[46] How many years a priest was maintained there is unknown.

Wherever the Jesuits have settled they have been thrifty and prosperous. Their church in Peoria has already been mentioned, and from Kaskaskia a visitor wrote: "they have there a very pretty church;" it had three chapels and a belfry with a bell. They also built a windmill where the inhabitants and the Indians ground their grain. This was the beginning of a property which increased in value by constant improvements until at the end of the French régime the Jesuit missionaries were the wealthiest landlords of Kaskaskia.[47]

At Cahokia the representatives of the Seminary of Foreign Missions ruled in accordance with the ecclesiastical decree; but although the Jesuit, Father Pinet, had been withdrawn, not all the friction between the two rivals had ceased. The fact that Father Bergier of Cahokia was the vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec, although he was without the right to visit the churches of the Jesuits, was particularly distasteful to Father Gravier, ever ready to stand up for the rights and prerogatives of his order. He charged the missionaries sent out by the Seminary with incompetency and slackness in performing their duties, an accusation due probably more to the bitterness of the dispute than to the facts, for other Jesuits appear to have been on the friendliest terms with Father Bergier. Father Marest, who had a capacity to see the good in all men, says of him after his death: "He was a Missionary of true merit and of a very

[45] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:255.

[46] *Ibid.*, 279, 289, 291, 341, note 25.

[47] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C^{13}C, 1:346. Pénicaut calls it "very grand." Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:491.

austere life. At the beginning of his Mission, he had to bear rude attacks from the Charlatans [medicine men],—who, availing themselves of his slight knowledge of the Savage language, every day took away from him some Christians; but eventually, he learned how to make himself, in his turn, feared by those imposters."[48]

In spite of the open hostility of the government of New France to any interference with the Illinois country on the part of the officials of Louisiana, the rule of the wilderness that trade will follow the stream prevailed and commercial relations were preparing the way for the inclusion of the middle Mississippi valley within the southern colony. In 1708 Diron Dartaguiette, commissary general of Louisiana, shipped to France samples of lead and copper ore mined in the Illinois, and he sent to the same place for seed corn. Settlers also from time to time moved northward; but the number of immigrants coming from the south was never very large.[49]

In 1708 or 1709 Governor Bienville and Commissary Dartaguiette received word that the white inhabitants in the north were given over to disorders and that they were inciting Indian wars to obtain slaves to sell to the British. In spite of their lack of jurisdiction the southern officials sent M. d'Eraque, who had been Le Sueur's second in command, with six men in a canoe to quell the disturbances. He ordered the inhabitants to cease their intrigues and exhorted the Indians to live in peace with their neighbors.[50]

Another interference by Bienville in the internal affairs of the Illinois was of longer duration. While Liette was being employed in 1711 by Governor Vaudreuil of Canada to escort some western tribesmen, Menominee and Potawatomi—ostensibly for war against the British but possibly to promote harmony among the allied tribes—the disorders in the Illinois grew so serious that Father Gabriel Marest sent a messenger to Governor Bienville to plead for assistance. A sergeant and ten men hastened northward and stayed in the country four months. Among the soldiers was Jean Pénicaut, the historian

[48] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 37, 127, 263.
[49] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 2: 165, 317 ff., 541 ff.
[50] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5: 476.

of early Louisiana, who has preserved a picture of the Illinois country at this time.[51]

By the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century the French had considerably extended in all directions their knowledge of the surrounding region. Many traders had now made the trip both up and down the Mississippi river. Others had traveled up the Tennessee to the Carolinas. The Missouri river had become a regular resort for fur traders, who had coursed along the reaches of the river as far west as the Kansas and had soon reached the forks of the Platte. They had visited the lead mines of Missouri and were familiar with the mines at Galena. Curiously enough, their trade had not carried them far up the Ohio, of which they knew little above the Wabash river.[52]

[51] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:488 ff.
[52] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]C, 1:346 ff.

VIII. THE ERA OF SPECULATION, 1712–1731

SPECULATION! The word and the act appear again and still again on the pages of Illinois history. To picture the river banks crowned with prosperous cities and the prairies covered with extensive farms required no effort of the imagination. The region seemed designed by nature for the home of many people, but generations of speculators were to pass before their vision should become a reality, and their successors should make fortunes in Illinois land by dealing in futures.

The early eighteenth century experienced one of the most spectacular of those speculative manias that have often shaken the financial world. The mania's obsession was French America, and the acts of money-mad men in Paris started into being far distant villages along the banks of the Mississippi river. The Illinois country was affected, and out of the dried roots of La Salle's financial undertakings and from the gardens tended by zealot missionaries there was expected to grow a French empire in the heart of the upper Mississippi valley.[1]

The War of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War, ended formally in the first half of 1713 with the treaty of Utrecht. The insignificant settlement of the province of Louisiana survived still as a French possession but with wounds which could heal only in the quiet of peace. The task of rehabilitation devolved in June, 1713, upon a new governor, Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, the interesting quondam commandant at Detroit, a man of bluster, some efficiency, and little amiability. With his coming the colony received its first civil government in the proper sense of the word, for up to this time it had been administered by military commandants under direct orders from France. On December 18, 1712, was inaugurated a

[1] In this and the succeeding chapters on the French régime I have based my narrative in large measure on hundreds of transcripts from the Archives Nationales, Colonies, series B and C[13]. In order to avoid footnotes bristling with references to particular documents, a procedure unwarranted by the character of these volumes, I have limited references to the cases of quoted passages and a few documents of outstanding importance.

superior council for civil and criminal matters which in some form or other from that time to the close of the French régime represented directly or indirectly the royal power in conjunction with the governor and the *commissaire-ordonnateur* — the latter officer performing the functions without the prestige of a French or Canadian intendant.

While Governor Cadillac was still lingering in France, whither he had gone after receiving word of his appointment, he was instrumental in reviving governmental interest in Louisiana by negotiating the grant of a trading charter to Antoine Crozat, a wealthy merchant connected with the inner circle of the French government. To the hard-headed merchant Cadillac pictured in brilliant colors the commercial possibilities of Louisiana, using as high lights the rich mines on the lower Ohio and in the country of the Illinois; the latter, however, was not finally included in the cession.

The charter, valid for fifteen years, conferred the exclusive right of trade and mining throughout Louisiana, the boundaries of which, described rather indefinitely, extended on the eastern side of the Mississippi only to the Ohio river. The trade in beaver skins still remained the monopoly of New France. Among other commercial privileges Crozat was granted the right of importing to Louisiana one shipload of Negro slaves. That the population should not be neglected the concessionaire was obliged to convey a few colonists on every ship sent to the colony. After nine years he was to bear the expense of the civil establishment.[2]

From the first Crozat and Governor Cadillac were disappointed in their hopes of financial returns. Great expectations of securing a profitable trade with the Spanish colonies collapsed; hopes of making Mobile a flourishing trading center soon had to be abandoned, for, without an adequate population, no commerce of value could be built up and the monopolistic policy inaugurated by Crozat retarded rather than developed better conditions.[3] The situation in the Indian trade proved equally disappointing on account of British competition.

[2] *Recueil Gènèral des Anciennes Lois Françaises* (ed. Isambert, *et al.*), 20: 576 ff.

[3] Heinrich, *La Louisiane*, LXI ff.

The treaty of Utrecht, which closed the War of the Spanish Succession, contained one clause that was to have a portentous influence on the development of the west. This was clause fifteen, which assured to Great Britain and France unrestricted trade with, and a sphere of influence over their Indian allies.[4] Although the clause was loosely drawn and rather indefinite in meaning, the British based upon it a claim to all land held in subjection by the Iroquois confederacy and by their Indian allies south of the Ohio. The British, a practical-minded people, did not indulge in the weaving of fine-spun webs of policy and gossamer titles as did the French. In the clause lay a claim, and English-speaking people pressed it until they had driven the French from America.

The immediate contest between the two nations occurred in the region south of the Ohio, where the British had been trading long before the arrival of the French. The Cherokee were successful in persuading the Illinois Indians to send furs through their country, and the French *coureurs de bois* were also approached by British agents.[5] These traders from the east established here and there new posts and formed a firmer league with the Chickasaw and the Natchez; even the Choctaw became divided in their attachment. British goods were regularly sold on the banks of the Father of Waters.

To check the British intrigues and to subdue the disloyal Canadian "vagabonds" congregated in the villages and at the same time to investigate the mining facilities so extravagantly described, Governor Cadillac in 1715 made an eight-months' visit to the Illinois country. Of positive results of his mission he reported little, but returned optimistic and somewhat assured. By way of Canada the hopeful news was sent to Versailles that Cadillac had discovered "mines of gold and silver" and had "left his son with forty men to work there, after investigation had been made by the two Spaniards."[6]

Crozat had watched his experiment with care and had en-

[4] Macdonald, *Select Charters*, 232.

[5] For British intrigues in the Illinois, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:317. The best account is in Crane, "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," in *American Historical Review*, 24:379. For the free use of a manuscript copy I am greatly indebted to the author.

[6] Ramezay to minister, November 3, 1715, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:325.

couraged his representative so long as he trusted him, but the time soon came when he realized that his hope of wealth in the great valley of America was a chimera. Like the good business man he was, he chose to pocket his loss of 1,250,000 livres rather than to throw more money into a bad venture. In January, 1717, he petitioned — perhaps not altogether voluntarily — for release from his obligations; and his request was granted.

During these years very little influence upon the Illinois was exercised from the lower Mississippi. Cadillac's visit left behind it hardly a ripple, and the changes in administration and policy that affected the villages came by way of the cold rivers and laborious portages of the north. Before the peace of 1713 had brought the war with the British to a close, the situation in the west had become so acute through the extending influence of British traders that counteracting measures had to be undertaken without waiting for the permission of the home government. To hold the Indians to the French alliance, the governor of New France sent, in 1712, garrisons to Mackinac, the Miami, and the Illinois, the Sieur de Liette being in command at the last.[7] The arrival of these French commandants was timely. Sent to counteract British intrigues, they found themselves confronted with an unexpected Indian war that endangered the French ascendancy in the west.

The success of the French experiment in colonization in the Mississippi valley depended on the solution of the one great problem that has perplexed every nation which has extended its dominion to America — the relation between the whites and the Indians. In the end the English-speaking people were to sweep away the obstructing aborigines by the inexorable force of their numbers; but no such contemptuous attitude toward the Indian as was fostered among the American pioneers could serve the French colonies with their sparse population. Their relation with the Indians must be based on mutual regard and self-interest. Where the Indians were undisturbed by the machinations of the British, the French were on the whole fairly successful in maintaining peace and in some cases were able to

[7] Vaudreuil to minister, November 6, 1712, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:865.

inspire in the savages real affection and devotion; but with one powerful tribe they failed.

The Musguiakie, or, in their neighbor's languages, Utugamig (Outagami), and in the white man's tongue Renards or Foxes, were near kin to the Sauk, the Mascoutens, and the Kickapoo, and like them were driven from lower Michigan in the seventeenth century by the westward thrust of the Iroquois confederacy. The first Jesuits and *coureurs de bois* found them established on Wolf river, but later they settled along the route of the Fox-Wisconsin portage. All accounts of them — generally emanating from their enemies — describe them as "stingy, avaricious, thieving, passionate, and quarrelsome; their bravery, however, was proverbial."[8]

Their antagonistic feeling for the French arose at an early date and was caused by their contact with the unruly, brutal, and deceitful fur traders by whom "the seeds of distrust were sown which were to blossom later into a harvest of hatred and war."[9] Friction with the whites continued almost constant. During the wars waged against the Iroquois confederacy by Governor Frontenac the Foxes openly sympathized with the Indians. When the French government adopted an anti-fur-trade policy and withdrew its garrisons from the west, the Foxes became the dominant power around Green Bay and the portage, which they closed to all traders carrying merchandise to their enemies on the west, the Sioux. Their position made them the protagonists of a pan-Indian sentiment. Their temporary power and success inspired in them the desire of rivalry with the white men.

The Fox war began in 1712, when a band of Foxes, visitors for two years at Detroit, were slaughtered by their Indian neighbors aided by the French commandant. The wilderness from that date resounded with the war whoop. Indian tribe warred on Indian tribe. The secret preparation, the long line of stealthy warriors gliding through the forest or paddling guardedly along the streams, the surprise, the murder of men,

[8] *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:473.

[9] In the interpretation of the war with the Foxes I am greatly indebted to the excellent account in Kellogg, "The Fox Indians During the French Régime," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 142 ff., and that in Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, chapter 3.

women, and children, the torture and burning at the stake, were common events in the region that the Jesuit missionaries had once hoped to make the home of a peaceful agricultural people.

The Illinois country was particularly affected, for there had long existed a feud between the Illinois and the Foxes; and the latter's next of kin and allies, the Kickapoo and the Mascoutens, were near neighbors, dwelling in the valleys of the Rock and Fox rivers. The valley of the Illinois river became the scene of a frightful contest between the red men, one party being assisted by their white protectors. In 1714, the Foxes were successful in killing or taking prisoner seventy-seven of the Illinois Indians.[10]

Without adequate forces in the west, the French determined on the extermination of the Fox tribe; but before they could use their potential power, they were to experience the paralyzing result of the abandonment of the western forts at the close of the seventeenth century. The only possible compensation for this weakness was the creation of a union of friendly Indian tribes. The commandants who had been sent into the west in 1712 were the diplomatists in the new negotiations. They failed in 1714, but a confederacy was arranged the next year. There was elaborated a plan of coöperation of the allies from south of the lakes, who were to rendezvous at Chicago, with those from the lakes region. The miscarriage was complete. An epidemic of measles among the Wea prevented them from sending the large band promised; the Illinois raised four hundred warriors and marched to Chicago, but finding no one there and receiving no word from the north, they dispersed. The nonarrival of supplies at Mackinac prevented any movement from that place.

The Hurons and other Indians from Detroit finally reached the rendezvous and succeeded in recalling the Illinois. The united forces attacked the Mascoutens, probably on the Fox river, and killed, it was rumored, one hundred warriors, besides taking forty-seven prisoners, exclusive of the women and children. After the battle the victors withdrew; four hundred Foxes pursued and overtook them but were repelled after a battle lasting from dawn until three o'clock.

[10] Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, 1:330.

In 1716 the government of New France mustered under Louis la Porte, sieur de Louvigny, an army of two hundred and twenty-five Frenchmen, all eager to enjoy the lucrative fur trade of the lakes region. These were later joined by other white men and by large numbers of Indians, bringing the number in the expedition up to eight hundred. This was the first French army to enter the west since Frontenac's time; and like those armies sent out by that doughty governor, it was more interested in trade than in war. Loads of merchandise and forty casks of brandy were carried as munitions.

The Foxes stood their ground in their village on the Fox river (Wisconsin) and Louvigny laid siege in true European fashion with trenches and mining operations. When the Foxes were reduced to desperation, the commander granted them easy terms and marched away, greatly to the disgust of his allies, who were expecting the annihilation of the foe; instead, the Foxes had promised beaver skins.

It will be necessary to return to the story of the Fox wars on a later page, but the outbreak of the war was the occasion for a change in the western policy by the French government. The policy of prohibiting the *coureurs de bois* from going into the west, noted in the last chapter, could not be enforced. Many *coureurs de bois,* refusing to return to Montreal at the bidding of their king and their governor, were supplied by eastern merchants with merchandise; in this illegal business men of the highest class, both civil and official, joined.[11] Efforts were continually made by the Canadian officials to have the right to issue licenses reëstablished. They assured the home government in many memorials that the operations of the fur traders were essential to the life of New France, since they conducted its most important business and since the Indians, if they were not supplied by the French, would trade with the British at Hudson bay or at Albany.[12]

[11] Perrot, *Memoir,* in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 1:230.

[12] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 16:266, 298; *New York Colonial Documents,* 9:852; *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux, Declarations,* 351. See an interesting memorial of the antitrading party of 1710 in Richard, *Supplement to Report on Canadian Archives,* 1899, p. 229. The memorialist calls the license system "the source of much evil and dissoluteness, of the fatal trade in brandy and of the stagnation of agriculture, contrary to the object of the settlement of this colony, which was to civilize and Christianize the Indians."

The days of Louis XIV were numbered; the king was already feeble and his grant to Crozat revealed the growing power of views other than those which prevailed when the edict prohibiting permits was issued in 1696. New conditions demanded a revision of policy; and on July 10, 1714, the royal government allowed the issuance of fifteen licenses to be used only at the garrisoned posts of Detroit, Mackinac, and the Illinois. After the death of Louis XIV, the new régime showed itself decidedly opposed to the influences which had controlled the old king; the critical situation in America was recognized; and in accordance with a new policy instructions were issued on April 28, 1716, increasing the trade permits to twenty-five. By 1717 the posts of Mackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Miami, and the Illinois had become firmly reëstablished, and a new history of the west and of the fur trade was inaugurated. Plans for the development of French America were, however, evolving rapidly; and the decision to try again a monopoly temporarily stopped, in 1719, this system of trading.[13]

With the passing of the cession to Antoine Crozat the French government was once more confronted by the problem of the future of Louisiana. In the financial circles of the capital forces had developed that changed the status of the colony from a rather unimportant experiment in imperialism to the object of European speculative mania. The Mississippi Bubble, once blown, expanded to gigantic size, then collapsed. For a few years Louisiana and with it the Illinois became the principal interest of France and even of the financial world of Europe. The names became synonymous with sudden wealth. The Mississippi river, the existence of which half a generation before had been a question for academic debate, became the popular subject of conversation among the *élite* in the *salon* and among the servants in the kitchen. Whoever had a little money to invest took a flyer in the new stock.

The central figure of this historic get-rich-quick scheme was John Law, a Scotchman, adventurer and gambler, with some of the stable qualities of a financial thinker. In books and

[13] Calendar of the communication is in Richard, *Supplement to Report on Canadian Archives*, 1899, p. 119, 121. For account of events in the west under these new orders see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:330, 437. *Ibid.*, 437; *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:884.

pamphlets he urged the adoption of a system of paper credit to supplement the coinage in currency, an idea forming the quintessence of all his future financial operations. He believed that the industrial prosperity of a country was to be measured, roughly, by the amount of money in circulation. To supply the immediate demand was, therefore, his first consideration; the ultimate result of inflation or the means employed concerned him but little.[14]

With the death of the *Grande Monarque* and the establishment of the regency under the Duc d'Orleans, Law's opportunity arrived. France stood on the verge of bankruptcy; the government was making use of the worst financial expedients; commerce and industry had lost all activity; agriculture was at a standstill; economic stagnation was everywhere evident. Law offered an escape. His first enterprise was humble, the establishment of a private bank, chartered in May, 1716; in this the state was directly interested, since three-quarters of the payment for the stock was in depreciated *billets d'état.*

From the first Law planned to unite commercial enterprises with his banking. The colony of Louisiana offered an opportunity. Perhaps by intimidation, perhaps on account of failure, Antoine Crozat yielded his charter; he became one of Law's most bitter enemies. The ensuing negotiations resulted in a new charter for Louisiana, coupled with an apparent resuscitation of French finances and the formation of a new commercial company, the "Company of the West," commonly called the "Mississippi Company."[15]

The charter was granted in August, 1717, to be valid for twenty-five years, beginning January 1, 1718. It gave the company a complete trade monopoly of Louisiana even including the buying of beaver; free disposal over all forts, ports, depots, and the garrisons of the province; ownership of all mines opened up by the company; free importation of French goods into Louisiana and a reduction of the duty on goods imported into France; freedom to issue orders regulating the interior conditions of Louisiana as regards commerce and the

[14] Weber, *La Compagnie Française des Indes,* 299; Heinrich, *La Louisiane,* 2 ff.; Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* 8 (2): 21 ff.; Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations,* 185, 208, 288.

[15] Dernis, *Recueil ou Collection, 1745-1746,* 3: 103-122, 129-138.

relations with the Indians; and the right of appointment of all officials, including the judges. The charter imposed upon the company the obligation of recognizing as law the *coutume de Paris* and of importing into the territory 6,000 white persons and 3,000 Negroes. A few weeks later this charter was supplemented by an ordinance, dated September 27, which formally incorporated the Illinois country into Louisiana.[16]

In spite of violent opposition by influential men, Law rose to the position of financial dictator of France. His bank became national; in it centered all the financial business of state; the great commercial companies operating in India and Africa were united with his into the Company of the Indies for the exploitation of the world. Speculation in the shares, which rose to twenty times their par value, went wild. Men fancied themselves with Midas' power and not a few did actually make fortunes in a single day. Finally in 1720 the imposing structure created by Law's fantastic mind began to tremble and finally collapsed with a crash heard and felt throughout France. Law himself took flight; he had brought to France 1,600,000 livres; he carried away a little pocket money. For France he had done much; he had taught the nation how to use credit, he had stimulated trade, and had reduced the national debt.

To make Louisiana as valuable as Law's vision of it had been would have required many years and a great expenditure of money, neither of which the *entrepreneur* commanded. He realized more keenly than Crozat had the necessity of increasing the population. To accomplish this, newspapers and pamphlets with lurid accounts of Louisiana's wealth were widely distributed: mountains there teemed with the precious metals, savages were eager to trade gold and silver for European merchandise; Natchez squaws were manufacturing silk. Former Governor Cadillac loudly proclaimed such descriptions lies, and was thrown into the Bastille by the government. All France was intoxicated by the thought of easy wealth. Noblemen and merchants vied in securing concessions of princely domains under most generous conditions; the banks of the Mis-

[16] October 4, 1717, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 39:457; Heinrich, *La Louisiane*, 4, note 5.

sissippi were soon bordered with towns, villages, and extensive plantations — all on paper.

The securing of colonists was more difficult. They were sought everywhere, in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, and to all emigrants were given generous farms. In France compulsion was used: vagabonds from the streets, malefactors from the prisons, abandoned children from the hospitals were seized by the company's agents; even boys and girls from poorer families were drafted. The unwilling emigrants were marched in chains to Rouen or La Rochelle; many of them died *en route;* many committed suicide to escape the dangers of the forest. Still, many did arrive to swell the census returns of Louisiana.[17]

The interior administration of the company began in the fall of 1717 with the reappointment of the experienced Bienville as governor. The next formal move was the creation of a council for Louisiana in the spring of 1718. Then the great task of developing the colony had to be taken up. The company continued to exclude foreign traders and to fix the prices of merchandise; it gave encouragement to agriculture, fostered the culture of tobacco and rice, and introduced that of silkworms. For the protection of the population new forts were erected.

The ruin and flight of John Law in 1720 did not react seriously on Louisiana, for the colony had not prospered as had been expected. A drastic reformation of the administrative machinery was made on September 5, 1721. Nine military districts were created, each with a military commander and a judge: New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamu, Natchitoches, Natchez, Yazoo, Arkansas, and the Illinois. The Arkansas district extended to the line of the Ohio river; the Illinois included the whole course of the Ohio and extended as far north as the Missouri. These nine districts were united under four general commanderies, New Orleans, Biloxi, Mobile and Alibamu, Arkansas and the Illinois.[18]

To the Illinois the rule of the company brought many changes. In 1718 there was chosen as a successor to the Sieur

[17] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, 8 (2): 35.
[18] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 6: 196 ff.

de Liette, Pierre Duqué, sieur de Boisbriant, a Canadian by birth, forty-seven years old, and a cousin of Iberville, with whom he had come to Louisiana in 1700. The choice was excellent. In spite of an unprepossessing exterior — he was small of stature and one shoulder was higher than the other — he was a man of tact, had the confidence of his superiors, understood Indian psychology, and spoke the Illinois language fluently. In his first talk to the Illinois he alluded to his size and assured them that, although his body was small, his heart was "large enough for all my children, the Illinois red men, to dwell in it as in a spacious cabin."[19] Accompanied by a staff of army officers, government officials, employees of the company, mining engineers, workingmen, and a hundred troops, the new commandant arrived at Kaskaskia in December, 1718.

The second official of importance in the district was a director in the Company of the Indies, Marc Antoine de la Loëre des Ursins. He had come to Louisiana with Cadillac in 1713 and had been the principal agent of Crozat in the region around the mouth of the Mississippi.[20] The commissary for the company was Michel Chassin, who for lack of a trained clerk was obliged to take upon himself the duties of both clerk and notary.[21]

Boisbriant began his administration with the erection of a fort as the seat of government. This was finished in 1720 and was named Fort de Chartres in honor of the son of the regent. It was situated about fifteen miles north of Kaskaskia. Around it a small settlement sprang up, forming the fourth village of which the district could boast. At the same time the citizens of the village of Kaskaskia were organized in a militia company. The inauguration of the new government brought many other changes, which will be narrated in a later chapter.[22]

[19] Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale,* 218, 221. In his answer the Indian orator said that he thought the force of Boisbriant's spirit had hindered the development of his body. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements,* 4:369.

[20] La Loëre was killed in the massacre at Natchez in 1729.

[21] There is a very interesting letter from him to some friend in France, dated July 1, 1722, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 6:297 ff.

[22] See below, chapter 10.

In 1719 the mining operations, which Boisbriant had been specifically ordered to promote, began with vigor. The direction of these had been placed in the control of a council of ten with the commandant at its head. The council was instructed to open up lead and silver mines; smelting was to take place every three or four weeks; finally all *habitants* and soldiers in the Illinois were permitted to work in the mines. The importance of these operations may be inferred from Governor Bienville's report of September, 1718, that Boisbriant was preparing to erect a special post at the mines. From 1719 on were arriving mining experts, or those believed to be experts, either sent by the company or coming on their own account; the hope of all was that their zeal would be rewarded by the discovery of rich silver mines.[23]

In 1720 appeared the man who was to play the leading part in the field of mining for many years, Philippe François Renault. Formerly a banker in Paris, he had been appointed director general of mines for the company; and in this capacity he began his activity in the Illinois. He brought with him miners and Negro laborers, and twenty-five of the latter were sent him each year. Beyond the Mississippi on the shores of the Meramec river, he opened a mine which produced a considerable amount of lead; but Renault was particularly interested in locating copper or silver. Acting on a rumor that copper had been found on the Illinois river, he made a journey of exploration thither in company with an officer and a guard. The explorers searched as far up as Starved Rock and reported that "in examining a coal mine — we found a mine of silver and of copper of which the said Sieur Renault had made proof."[24]

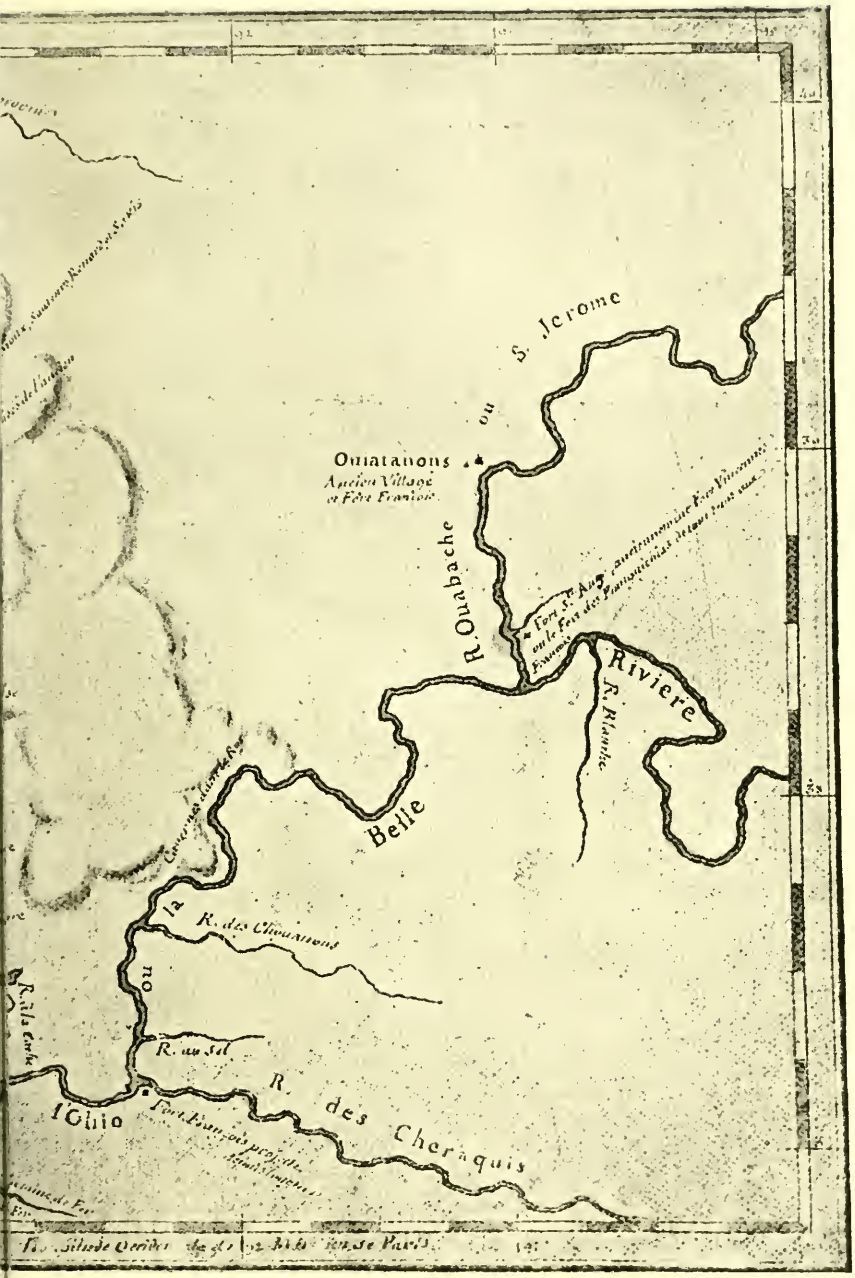
In the year 1722, the Illinois district received a court of the first instance, for both civil and criminal matters. It was subordinate to the court of appeals at New Orleans, but was

[23] The members of the council were Boisbriant, president, La Loëre des Ursins, Diron Dartaguiette, Marbion, Pigmoil, and others. Order August 26, 1718, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 42:230 ff. Bienville to council of marine, September 25, 1718, *ibid.*, C13A, 5:160. Charlevoix, *Journal d'un Voyage*, 137 ff. Charlevoix expresses surprise that the company took such little care in the selection of its mining experts.

[24] Letter and journal of Legardeur Delisle, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 6:292; C13C, 2:181 ff.

MAP OF THE ILI

[Reproduced from Villiers du Terrage, *Les*



OIS COUNTRY
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designated "Provincial Court" and exercised jurisdiction over the territory stretching from the Arkansas and the Ohio up the valley of the Mississippi; in other words, over the commandery of the Illinois and Arkansas. The judges were Commandant Boisbriant, president; La Loëre, principal clerk; Chassin, *garde-magasin* and second councillor; and Perillaut, secretary.[25]

Opposite the French settlement of the Illinois was the mouth of an immense river, the waters of which, turbid with the washings of miles of banks, discolored the waters of the Mississippi below the confluence. The Missouri offered a route into the mysterious regions of the far west, where the fertile imagination of the French pictured untold wealth. An Aladdin's lamp could hardly summon more bewitching visions. Here were rich mines of gold, silver, and precious stones; here was a trade route to the Spanish possessions; and, most wonderful of all, the river offered the long-sought means of crossing the continent and reaching the marvelous ports of China. A contemporary writes: "It is said that there is much gold and rubies in that country. It is believed the inhabitants are Chinese."[26]

As has been seen, the *coureurs de bois* very early found the valley of the river a rich market for furs and slaves, which they bought from the Osage and the Missouri, and even the more distant Comanche and Pawnee. How far into the unknown west these freebooters of the wilderness penetrated may never be discovered. By 1720 they had reached the forks of the Platte, in the western part of modern Nebraska, for

[25] May 12, 1722, Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]C, 43: 103 ff. See Alvord, "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century," in Illinois State Historical Library, *Bulletin*, volume 1, number 1, p. 16. The judges drew no special salaries, but in their capacity of administrative officials they had previously been advanced: La Loëre to 2,000 livres, Chassin to 800, and Perillaut to 600. Official salary list, December 19, 1722, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 43: 147. Probably the first criminal case ever heard in the Illinois came before this court. It concerned Perillaut, the secretary, who had killed with his sword on April 25, 1723, Morin, a drummer of the garrison, for having spoken impertinently to him. He was arrested and tried, the court sitting intermittently till the end of May. During his trial three chiefs of the Kaskaskia with thirty followers appeared before the court to plead for the life of the accused man. He was finally acquitted. Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 75 ff. There are also documents concerning this case among Kaskaskia manuscripts.

[26] Letter of Presle, June 10, 1718, in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6: 385.

here they aided the Pawnee to defeat a body of Spanish troopers sent out from Santa Fe.[27]

The first official exploration of the river was undertaken by Charles Claude Dutisné in the summer of 1718. His first attempt failed at the villages of the Osage; but he returned and started overland, reaching the villages of the Comanche beyond the western boundaries of the modern state of Missouri, where the Indians stopped him.

In order to push the explorations, to protect the mines, and to open up a trade with the Spaniards, the company determined to build a fort on the Missouri. A further reason was the belief of the French officials that the Spanish expedition against the Pawnee, distorted accounts of which were brought by the Indians, had actually been sent against the Illinois villages.[28] The company intrusted to Etienne Venyard, sieur de Bourgmont, who had lived a rather lawless life for years in the Illinois and vicinity, the work of building the fort, which was completed in the fall of 1723 and called Fort Orleans; it was situated about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Missouri.[29] From this place Bourgmont made further explorations of the regions to the west as far as the villages of the Comanche. The fort itself existed but a few years either because of the curtailment of expenses by the company or on account of hostile attack;[30] but the Missouri region for both mining and furs remained a part of the Illinois.

In the second half of 1724 Boisbriant left the district to act as temporary successor to Governor Bienville. Honest and able, he fulfilled his new responsibilities acceptably, but his sense of duty led him to oppose the orders of the company, for

[27] The best description of this expedition is found in Dunbar, "Massacre of the Villazur Expedition by the Pawnees on the Platte in 1720," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, 11:397 ff.

[28] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6:309 ff.; Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 1:176; Houck, *History of Missouri*, 1:255. The story was so told by historians, until search in the Spanish archives proved it to be incorrect. Bienville's official report is in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6:386; for other versions see Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 1:130 ff.; Houck, *History of Missouri*, 1:250 ff.

[29] Its site is somewhat in dispute among Missouri historians. See Houck, *History of Missouri*, 1:258; Stipes, "Fort Orleans, the First French Post on the Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, 8:121 ff.

[30] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6:388 ff. A very clear statement of the explorations is contained in Houck, *History of Missouri*, 1:258 ff.

doing which he was summoned to France. In October, 1727, he was deprived of his rank of first lieutenant; the next year, discharged, disgraced, without resources, he tried in vain to be reinstated into the service of the company. The government reminded the company that, although Boisbriant had disobeyed orders, he was a thoroughly upright man, loved and respected by all. Nothing more is heard of him.

Boisbriant was temporarily succeeded by Charles Claude Dutisné, a Canadian, for many years in Louisiana. In 1713 he had led several Canadians, among them his wife, to Mobile by land, being one of the first white men to cross the continent in this manner. He had entered the service of the company in 1717 and had made the first official exploration of the Missouri valley. Five years later, having been advanced to the rank of captain, he was appointed substitute for Boisbriant in case of absence. Dutisné did not hold the position long, but was transferred to the Natchez post the next January. A good officer and familiar with Indian life, he won enthusiastic encomiums from all his superiors. After the death of the Sieur de Liette in 1729, Dutisné was again temporary commandant of the Illinois for a short period.[31]

During a few months of the year 1725, after Dutisné had departed and before the newly appointed commandant, Liette, arrived, the senior officer at Fort de Chartres exercised the chief power in the district. This was the Sieur de Pradel, a captain, of whom little is known except that he had been one of Bourgmont's officers at Fort Orleans. He caused trouble for himself during his short administration by arresting an inhabitant for some fancied slight or insolence. Under the leadership of one La Plume the inhabitants protested and resorted to violence. Pradel was himself arrested and sent to New Orleans. Liette reported, however, that Pradel had done no wrong; and he was discharged and reinstated in his rank.[32]

[31] He died in 1730 from the effects of a wound in the cheek caused by the shot from a Fox gun. Houck, *History of Missouri*, 1:255. The news of his wound was known in New Orleans by October 1, 1729, but he was still supposed to be alive on March 18, 1730. Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13 A, 12: 178, 293.

[32] *Ibid.*, 9:239 ff., 259 ff.; Dutisné did not leave the Illinois till after January 10, 1725; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:453. Liette was still in New Orleans on September 1, 1725, but ready for his departure. Minutes of Superior Council, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 9:82 ff.

The Sieur de Liette had been in the Illinois since 1687 and had for years represented the French power at Fort St. Louis. He entered the service of the company in 1720 and in April, 1721, was appointed commandant at the Wabash; but since this post was not yet established, he went to Natchez. From there he was transferred in 1725 to the Illinois, where he was always popular. He died before August 26, 1729.

Liette's successor, after the temporary command of Dutisné, was Robert Groston, sieur de St. Ange, a typical trooper, illiterate, upright, pious, and attached to his duties. He had come to Canada from France about 1686 and must have entered the military service at an early age. It was said in 1736 that he had served the king fifty years. In 1721 he accompanied Father Charlevoix on his historic journey through the Mississippi valley, and from that time his name became intertwined with Illinois history. Two of his sons, Pierre and Louis, have also played their part on these prairies. On May 30, 1722, St. Ange was commissioned ensign on half pay. He and his son Louis accompanied Bourgmont to the Missouri and assisted him in his explorations, and the father commanded Fort Orleans for a time. In 1729 he bought a house near Fort de Chartres, and after Dutisné's death he became, as senior officer, the commandant of the Illinois, a position which he held until 1733.[33]

The five terms of these four commanders form, in a certain sense, a unit, for each faced the same vital problems: the relations of the district to the company, to Canada, to the Foxes, and to the British.

The Company of the Indies had found, as had Crozat, that Louisiana was an unprofitable investment; accordingly its members now preferred to cut down their expenses there in order to invest their money in trading in other parts of the world. When Boisbriant was acting governor of the province, this policy of restriction began to be painfully felt. The garrisons everywhere were ordered to be reduced; then the amount of merchandise to be shipped to the north was strictly limited; risks of financial loss in boats and goods from Indian attacks

[33] Douglas, "The Sieurs de St. Ange." in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, p. 135 ff.

were to be reduced to a minimum. If the Illinois people wished to buy, they should come to New Orleans.[34]

Those directly interested in the development of the Illinois and conversant with its potential wealth were astonished at the shortsightedness of this policy. Renault was already beginning to see the day of profits on his investments. On February 27, 1725, he owed the company 140,000 livres besides the price of twenty-five Negroes sent him each year. He had, however, built a furnace and was taking out fifteen hundred pounds of lead a day and by another year expected to mine all the lead the company could consume. He now asked for a guard for his mines. He had built for himself a stone house — the first one in the country — and was looking forward to a prosperous business. By September of 1725, however, he was forced to complain that his credit had been cut off and that the continuance of the Fox war made it impossible to work at his mines.[35]

The inhabitants of the Illinois made an earnest plea for their rights, in which they were supported by Governor Boisbriant, who pointed out that the lower province would have been badly off without flour from the Illinois district.[36] But the council of the company paid little heed; it had trouble enough, for, to add to Louisiana's financial difficulties, a conflict between political factions was raging with great bitterness, bidding fair to ruin the colony.

Disastrous news now came by the river. A letter from Liette informed the company that the Mississippi had in the summer of 1727 inundated the country and destroyed the fort. The Illinois commandant was in favor of rebuilding "at the prairie" nearer Kaskaskia, and the inhabitants of that village offered to furnish all the stone necessary and to transport the munitions and other supplies to the new site on condition that each of them be permitted to purchase two slaves by the payment of flour. The company, heartily weary of the expenses of their speculation, in October ordered their new governor, Perier, to have all its property in the Illinois country and the

[34] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 8:225.
[35] *Ibid.*, 9:51 ff., 239-258.
[36] *Ibid.*, 8:225.

garrison except for two officers and six men removed to New Orleans.[37]

Illinois was, then, to be abandoned; but Governor Perier decided not to carry out the order, and he made so effective a protest that the company did not insist on its immediate execution. Still it announced its intention of evacuating Fort de Chartres as soon as the Fox war should be brought to a close; but in 1729, after the terrifying massacre at the Natchez, the company consented to keep a body of sixty troops in the Illinois and agreed to send more if needed.[38]

The greatest event in the history of the Illinois country during this period of changing commandants was the Fox war, which was at its height from 1718 to the overwhelming defeat of these tribesmen in 1730. Now the Illinois villages felt the full difficulty of their position at the border line of two provinces, for neither Canada nor Louisiana was ready to give them adequate protection, each being inclined to leave the responsibility to the other.

While dilatory tactics prevailed in New France the danger had been increased by the energy and skill of the forest diplomats. Little is known of the Fox chief, Kiala, a veritable forerunner of Pontiac and Tecumseh, who succeeded in building up a strong and far-reaching confederacy of the discontented Indian tribes. Its main strength lay on the western bank of the Mississippi. In their fight for life against the white men the Foxes won over to alliance their traditional enemies, the northern Sioux, and the Iowa; they made overtures to tribes even farther to the south. On the east the Foxes counted as friends their kin the Mascoutens, the Sauk, and the Kickapoo, the Siouan Winnebago, and the western Abnaki. Thus a formidable alliance threatened to cut asunder the colonies of France.[39]

In 1718, the year Boisbriant came to the Illinois, a war band of Foxes invaded the country on the Illinois river, and

[37] Company to Perier, October 27, 1727, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 11: 89-92; Perier and La Chaise to the company, April 9, 1728, *ibid.*, 48.

[38] Perier and La Chaise to the company, November 1, 1728, *ibid.*, 113 and also 346 ff.

[39] Kellogg, "The Fox Indians During the French Régime," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 166 ff.

from that time their attacks on all the Indian villages were made with great regularity; even the French were not spared. In 1725 a chief of the Michigamea, Jouachin, and others narrated a series of atrocities committed by the Foxes during the preceding years.[40] The murder of men, women, and children in the whole region from the Illinois to the Ohio had become a common occurrence. The Foxes defied Fort de Chartres and made traveling between Kaskaskia and Cahokia unsafe. Father Charlevoix, who passed down the Illinois river in 1721, wrote that the Foxes "infested with their robberies and filled with murders not only the neighborhood of the Bay [Green Bay], their natural territory, but almost all the routes communicating with the remote colonial posts, as well as those leading from Canada to Louisiana."[41]

The Illinois made reprisals and were able at times to vaunt their success; but victory lay generally with the implacable Foxes, who in 1722 besieged the Peoria, congregated at the village near Starved Rock, and forced their surrender, but spared their lives on condition that they give up eighty of their women and children. The result was a temporary abandonment of the Illinois river villages by the Peoria, who removed to Cahokia, thus giving over to the Foxes the control of the important Chicago-Des Plaines portage, and turning travel between Canada and the Illinois into the route via the Maumee-Wabash portage.

Help could come from Canada, but it was slow in coming; and when it came, indignation broke loose. The commandant of New France in the west made peace at Green Bay with the Foxes, Sauk, and Winnebago without including in the agreement the Illinois.[42] Protest followed protest. The Jesuits united with Commandant Dutisné, Acting Governor Boisbriant, and the Illinois chiefs in denouncing the false peace. Dutisné wrote to the governor of Canada: "The Traders from your Quarter give them [the Foxes] to understand that we Are other White men. People of that Kind Sacrifice Their country to obtain Beaverskins."[43] The Jesuit fathers joined

[40] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:457.
[41] Charlevoix, *History of New France* (ed. Shea), 5:305.
[42] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6:510 ff.
[43] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16:444 ff.

with the representatives of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in a letter of protest. They urged the necessity of informing the king, "for Monsieur de Vaudreuil [governor of New France] will amuse the Court by Writing that it is our fault If we have not peace. He seems to have no other desire than to allow the vein of Beaver skins to flow; and, by Letting The Renard [Foxes] attack us, to prevent this Country from being settled, and thereby to shut off trade between His Government and Ours."[44]

The people of the Illinois did not trust their case to letters alone. An able ambassador to the royal court at Versailles was found in Father Beaubois, S. J., of Kaskaskia, who was accompanied by the eloquent Michigamea chief, Chicagou, and three chiefs from the Missouri tribes. They were received with the highest honors by the company and the court and loaded with presents. Chicagou in particular made a good impression; both he and Father Beaubois seized every occasion to bring before the authorities the sorry plight of the Illinois, and no doubt their accounts of conditions had an influence in the more peremptory orders to the governor of New France.[45]

As a result of the arousing of the French government and in consequence of its instructions to the governor of New France to stop the depredations of the Foxes, a futile peace was patched up in 1726. Before the new governor, Charles de la Boische, marquis de Beauharnois, who arrived in Canada the same year, had overcome the influence of the fur trading party responsible for this peace, news arrived of another outrage committed by the Foxes. A lieutenant and seven soldiers sent from Fort de Chartres up the Missouri river to collect supplies were attacked by a band of Foxes, and all were killed.[46]

It was now apparent how insincere the peace had been, and to punish the perfidy of the Foxes an expedition was started

[44] Dutisné's letters, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 16:450 ff.; missionaries' letter, *ibid.,* 453 ff.

[45] A long and interesting account of this visit to France was printed in *Le Mercure de France* for December, 1725, from which the above is drawn. Twenty-two Indians in all were collected for the voyage, but most of them were frightened by the capsizing in port of the vessel designated to convey them.

[46] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 50:543.

from New France in the spring of 1728 under the command of Marchand de Lignery. Although he had a large army, four hundred Frenchmen and nearly one thousand Indians, his expedition as a military enterprise failed; the Foxes had been warned, and all that Lignery accomplished was to burn villages, destroy crops, and march away.[47]

The Illinois commandant had been expected to coöperate, and Liette, accompanied by a Jesuit, Father Dumas, did lead twenty soldiers and as many *habitants* and some Indians as far as Chicago, where he defeated a band of Foxes and Kickapoo, killing twenty and taking fifteen prisoners, with the loss of one officer and two soldiers. Lignery tried to excuse his failure by laying the blame on Liette for not coöperating with him, an excuse that did not save him from a reprimand.[48]

The French army withdrew with the belief that little had been accomplished; yet the show of French power had impressed all the Indian tribes. News soon came that the Kickapoo and Mascoutens had determined to make peace with the Illinois and was hailed with rejoicing on the American Bottom. A Kickapoo delegation was received with the usual Indian ceremonies and an alliance was made. At the same time the Sioux refused to grant the Foxes refuge in their country. The league of hostile tribes was crumbling. The next year saw Montreal crowded with delegates from the tribes of the upper country, all declaring their love for the French and their hatred for the Foxes.[49] In the great game of war the whites' superior power had overawed the red men, who left the recalcitrant tribe to fate.

The sole hope of the Foxes lay in securing a treaty of peace from the French; otherwise they would have to leave their homes to settle among the Iroquois, who offered them shelter. They sought a treaty apparently with earnestness, and some French officials were in favor of granting it. The governor of Canada, however, exhorted the Indians "to de-

[47] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 10:47 ff.; 17:31 ff.

[48] It is possible that Liette had been delayed by the severe flood that destroyed Fort de Chartres. Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 11:18 ff., 27 ff.; B, 53:539. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:34. On Father Dumas, see *ibid.*, 39.

[49] *Ibid.*, 54 ff., 59, 63.

stroy the Foxes, and not to suffer on this earth a demon capable of confounding or opposing our friendly alliance."[50] To accept the offer of the Iroquois appeared to some of the Fox warriors more fitting to their dignity, and in the summer of 1730 a band of three hundred warriors with their families started eastward, after striking a blow at some Cahokia and other Indians on the Illinois river and burning the son of a Cahokia chief at Starved Rock. The news of the "trek" was soon spread throughout the tribes, and special messengers were sent posthaste to summon the French at St. Joseph, the Miami, and the Illinois, where St. Ange now ruled. He hastened to the battle at the head of one hundred French and four hundred Indians.

The Illinois commandant was the first of the white men on the grounds and discovered that the Kickapoo, the Mascoutens, and the Peoria had seized "the passes on the northeast side" and had thus "probably compelled the Renards [Foxes] to build a fort" at the rock a league below them; this was located somewhere between the Illinois and the Wabash rivers.[51] At this place the people of the Illinois were joined by Nicolas Coulon, sieur de Villiers, with fifty or sixty Frenchmen and about two hundred and fifty Potawatomi, Miami, and Sauk from St. Joseph, and by white men and Indians from the Miami post, until the army numbered about fourteen hundred. For twenty-three days the fort was besieged, until both sides became exhausted and ran out of food. The Frenchmen refused every demand for peace, although some of their Indian allies pleaded for their kinsmen, and the Sauk supplied the Foxes with munitions. A war almost broke out between the bands of the besiegers, and two hundred of the Illinois Indians deserted. Still

[50] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 5:105.

[51] J. F. Steward, who has made a careful study of the battle, is convinced that it took place on the Fox river in Kendall county. The account of St. Ange, who led the Illinois troops, favors his interpretation, but it is rather indefinite, whereas statements of others equally well informed are very definite. Mr. Steward's site fits well the account of another battle that occurred the next year. Steward, "Destruction of the Fox Indians in 1730" and "Further Regarding the Destruction of a Branch of the Fox Tribe," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1902, p. 148 ff., 189 ff.; *ibid.,* 1914, p. 175. For contemporary accounts also see *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 17:100 ff. Consult Kellogg, "Fox Indians During the French Régime," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1907, p. 174.

the besiegers pushed closer their lines of trenches until St. Ange's band was within two pistol shots of the fort.

On September 8, a violent thunderstorm interrupted the activities of the encompassing army. During the night the Foxes decided to withdraw from the fort; their movements were betrayed by the crying of their children, but fear of confusion held the allies inactive until the next day, when they easily overtook the enemy. No mercy was shown; the band of Foxes was practically annihilated. The number of those killed and captured was about three hundred warriors, besides the women and children. "It is Agreed on all sides that not more than 50 or 60 men Escaped Without guns and Without any of the Implements for procuring their Subsistence."[52]

The great menace to the Illinois country was over. The Fox war was to continue in a desultory way for a number of years, the French being determined on the extermination of the tribe; but never again was there formed a purely Indian alliance that threatened with annihilation the French imperial plans in the upper Mississippi valley. The long-continued war had, however, retarded the development of the Illinois country with consequences the future would reveal.

Throughout the period of the Fox war the French saw looming on the eastern horizon a still greater danger. The British colonies in both the northeast and the southeast were extending their influence toward the Illinois country, forcing on the French the necessity of action to protect the weakest part of their long line. The time could not be long postponed when the strength in the west of these steadily advancing colonies would more than counterbalance the superior Indian diplomacy of the French and their greater concentration of power.

In the northeast the traders from New York were securing more and more of the fur trade. The Albany merchants knew how to utilize skillfully the alliance of the Iroquois, and it is very possible that some of the strength of the Fox aggressive policy was inspired indirectly by fur dealers on the banks of the Hudson. Fort Oswego in New York was built in

[52] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17: 113.

1724, and soon became the center of an active fur trade and a counterpoise to the newly erected French post and later fort at Niagara.[53]

The success of the British in extending their trade and the continuance of the Fox war forced the government to revive the twenty-five *congés* in New France; a greater volume of French trade might save the situation. Still their fears grew and the officers at various posts reported that a great conspiracy to massacre the French garrisons had been inspired by the British agents.[54] Even the parsimonious Company of the Indies was forced by the danger to appropriate money. The Ohio valley, unoccupied by either of the rival nations, was becoming the scene of the struggle. In 1720 a post at Ouiatenon, the last in this direction of the province of New France, was founded. Eleven years later Post Vincennes was established on the lower Wabash by the province of Louisiana.[55] For years these two posts, with Detroit and Niagara, formed the bulwark against British aggressions.

Desperate as was the situation in the northeast, that in the region south of the Ohio was far more dangerous, for here the conspiracy that was only attempted north of the river was actually set in motion. The Carolinians were using every art to win over the Indians. French diplomacy was more than counterbalanced by gifts and cheap goods. The Chickasaw, the Natchez, and the Cherokee, never won to friendship by the French, were easily bought by generosity; and even the Choctaw, as the French report, were debauched.[56]

The British had still greater success with the Cherokee. In April, 1730, Sir Alexander Cuming, Indian commissary, secured from the chiefs of that nation the recognition of the sovereignty of the British. The new relation thus established was recognized by the appointment by the commissary of a

[53] The best account of the rivalry of the British and French in this region is Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, 2 volumes.

[54] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 49:657; Heinrich, *La Louisiane*, 217, note 1. See *ibid.*, 222.

[55] The exact date is uncertain. Ouiatenon, near modern Lafayette, was the head of navigation for pirogues and large canoes. Dunn, *Indiana*, 50. Dunn, "The Mission to the Ouabache," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 3:279.

[56] Heinrich, *La Louisiane*, 224 ff.

supreme chief, and later a number of Cherokee followed him to London and before King George II pledged by arrows and scalps their fidelity to the British crown.[57]

Against this activity of the British colonies, the economy of the Company of the Indies prevented the concerting of active measures. What could be done with empty storehouses and a handful of troops? Then a great disaster wakened the company from its lethargy. Everywhere the intrigues of the British had been assisted by the anger of the Indians at French encroachments on their lands. Now a general conspiracy of the Indian tribes was formed, which planned to make simultaneous attacks at different points. The Natchez, however, broke loose prematurely, and on November 29, 1729, massacred 238 of the French in or near Fort Rosalie. The governor of Louisiana was able to arouse the Choctaw to unite with the French for revenge, and by 1730 it was believed that the Natchez as a tribe had been completely destroyed. Many still survived, however, as refugees among the Chickasaw; the end of the Natchez war was not yet.[58]

This revolt of the Indians sounded the death-knell of the company; its failure was evident to all; action now became imperative. In January, 1731, the company petitioned the king to take Louisiana and the country of the Illinois back into his own hands. The request was complied with in the same month, to take effect on July 1.[59] Thus came to an end the financial experiment of John Law. The Illinois country was on the threshold of a new period in its history.

[57] Heinrich, *La Louisiane*, 241. On the whole situation consult MacGrady, *History of South Carolina, passim.*

[58] Heinrich, *La Louisiane*, 253 ff.

[59] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 55: 593 ff.

IX. THE ROYAL PROVINCE

THE Age of Voltaire! Paris again laughed and was light-hearted. The somber, puritanical days of the *Grande Monarque* were forgotten. Paris was skeptical. No longer could a solemn dogma, a survival of the sixteenth century controversy, smother the spontaneity of life. With *bonmot* and with laughter, with critical doubt and with philosophical reasonableness, society carelessly swept on to the flood tide of the revolutionary days. Voltaire expressed its thought; its gaily-decked, panier-gowned women its social life.

A similar metamorphosis in social life had swept over England in the previous generation under the gay Charles II. France naturally turned for guidance to the more experienced nation. English women introduced at court a new style of coiffure, and an English philosopher, John Locke, laid a basis for French contemporary thought. Inspired by the new life, Voltaire taught a modern view of freedom and a critical attitude toward all social problems, and Montesquieu expounded for his countrymen, eager for the new learning, English political theory and practice.

A natural result of this preference for things English was a more careful study of the English colonial system, with a consequent realization of the difference in aims and means between the policies of the two countries. Typical is a letter of instruction written to the governor in 1728 by the minister: "The idea of the people of New England is to work, to cultivate their land carefully and to advance their settlements little by little; when it is a question of pushing them farther they will not consent because it would be they who would be obliged to support the expense.

"The inhabitants of New France think differently. They wish always to advance without troubling themselves about the establishments nearer-by, because they gain more and are more independent when they are far away. These different fashions

of thinking have had the result that the English colonies are better populated and better established than ours."[1]

With Louisiana now a royal province, new methods could be conveniently introduced. Was the government equal to the task? The king, now about twenty years old, had already exhibited his preferences for women, hunting, and a variety of *chateaux,* but had given no promise of success in any operation where his ancestor had failed. He left public affairs during the earlier years of his reign to his ministers, then after 1745 to his mistress, Madame de Pompadour, and then finally to the minister, the Duc de Choiseul, the only one of his servants with any claim to greatness.

One of the first administrative questions that arose was whether it would be better to include Illinois in Louisiana or in New France. Since both were now royal provinces the disposal of the midland district touched no particular interests, and the Illinois country was left with the southern province.[2] Yet the colony was, for practical purposes, to be considered as a part of both, irrespective of its formal administrative connection. In sharp contrast to the restriction imposed by the old régime, the ministry opened the trade gates to Canada.[3]

The two colonies were instructed that they were not to regard themselves as rivals, but as departments of the same kingdom; but old customs and habits of thought are not easily discarded, as the officials in the Illinois soon discovered. In April, 1734, Governor Bienville was forced to make an official complaint that the governor of Canada was not responding to the king's views; he had refused Canadians permission to remove to the Illinois and had required the inhabitants from there who wished to do business in Canada to have *congés.* Reports were current in the west that more than a hundred

[1] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 52:499 ff. The opinion reminds one of the views of Colbert; still the contrast of French method with the British is significant.

The discussion in this chapter is based upon a large number of documents in the Archives Nationales, Colonies, series B and C[13]A. The policy of citing only the significant ones is followed in this chapter as in the previous one.

[2] The question was raised at the time Louisiana was made a royal province. Perier and Salmon to minister, December 5, 1731, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 13:28 ff.; minister to Bienville, September 2, 1732, *ibid.,* B, 57:807; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 17:179.

[3] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 55:593 ff.

families were prepared to settle in the Illinois and on the Wabash, but could not obtain permission to leave Canada. The minister promptly reprimanded Governor Beauharnois of New France for such conduct and reminded him of the royal wish for the closest relations between the two provinces.[4]

In the eyes of the French government the Illinois assumed far greater importance than the Company of the Indies had ever attached to it. Governor Bienville appears to have expressed in 1733 the accepted opinion in official classes: "I do not doubt," he wrote, "that Illinois will in a short time become the most considerable settlement of the colony."[5] Lying as it did between Louisiana and New France, its strategic position was evident to all; on it centered the hope of the French imperial system. Accordingly the officials of Louisiana were instructed again and again to do everything possible for the prosperity of the district. The search for fabulous fortunes from mines gave way to a more wholesome interest in agriculture with the hope of making the Illinois district the granary and the breeding ground of cattle for the army and the civilian population of the whole province.

Above all other difficulties in the way of French success loomed the menace from Indian revolts, constantly feared by French officials and as constantly attributed to the intrigues of the British traders. The cause was real enough and was each year to become more dangerous. There were, however, other reasons for the growing discontent of the natives. The French had not developed an efficient method of supplying the Indians with the sorely needed munitions and merchandise; consequently the red men were forced to seek other markets, particularly those of the British. Their uneasiness was increased by the fear that the white men would appropriate all uncultivated territory. As the Illinois saw settlers spread themselves over the fertile American Bottom, they became greatly concerned. Chief Chicagou, when on his visit to France in 1724, had taken every occasion to plead with the officials that the Indians be not driven from their hunting grounds.

[4] Minister to Beauharnois, July 20, 1734, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 61:569 ff.; Bienville to minister, April 22, 1734, *ibid.*, C^{13}A, 18:142 ff.

[5] Bienville to minister, July 25, 1733, *ibid.*, 16:265 ff.

Finally, the natural reaction from the great victory over the Foxes in 1730 had set in. The native population of the territory, since the Foxes were destroyed, felt no longer any need of protection by the French and began to look on the latter as intruders, capable of meting out to other tribes the punishment inflicted on the Foxes. The change of feeling began to be noticed about 1732. Father Mercier, one of the Illinois priests, in that year wrote: "The Indians are intriguing with the Osages and Kansas to aid them against the French; the chiefs are friendly, but they cannot control their youths."[6] The beginning of a spirit of rebellion carrying with it an inarticulate, inchoate pan-Indian feeling was becoming manifest.

The Illinois had a special cause for discontent. The inhabitants of the villages, mostly *coureurs de bois,* were inclined to be rough and quarrelsome, ever ready to have disputes and not overanxious when their cattle wandered into the Indian cornfields. Furthermore, the Illinois were resenting a breach of faith on the part of Governor Perier.[7] During the course of 1731, three Chickasaw emissaries had appeared among the Illinois to arouse them to revolt. The Illinois remained faithful and handed the messengers over to the authorities at New Orleans, on condition that their lives should be spared. Governor Perier accepted the prisoners but promptly ignored the condition.

The discontent first broke out in Indian disturbances at Cahokia in May, 1732. These began in a quarrel either between an Indian and a white man or between two Indians — the accounts conflict — which threatened to grow into a serious affair. The young men of the Illinois were particularly warlike in their demonstrations; and the priests and some of the inhabitants fled secretly by night, fearing a general massacre. Father Mercier wrote: "All is confusion; we are always on the *qui vive;* I asked St. Ange for a guard." The alarm ended only with the coming of a new commandant with more soldiers.[8] The danger was probably slight and its im-

[6] April 25, 1733, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 17:288.
[7] Minister to Bienville, October 14, 1732, *ibid.,* B, 57:859.
[8] Mercier to unknown, April 25, 1733, *ibid.,* C[13]A, 17:287.

portance exaggerated in the official reports, but it reveals conditions favorable for receiving the future seeds of revolt to be planted by skillful British diplomats of the wilderness. Subsequent events gave to this incipient revolt a sinister character.

About simultaneous with this outbreak and likewise connected with the Fox defeat of 1730 was the return of the Peoria from Cahokia to their old homes on the Illinois river. Early in 1732, Perier received notice of their intentions; he raised no objections, but declined to grant them the French garrison for which they asked. The return took place in the course of the year.[9]

These two events gave occasion to the discussion of a plan to remove all the Indians to a distance of some twelve leagues from the French settlements in order to avoid the possibilities of future friction. The plan was mentioned late in 1732, again in the fall of the next year, and in the spring of 1734; but it was never put into execution. The Jesuits offered to build the necessary churches and priests' houses in return for a grant of the old sites of the villages.[10]

Friction with the Indians was especially dangerous, inasmuch as Fort de Chartres was not capable of withstanding a serious attack. It had become so dilapidated, in the few years since it was rebuilt in 1727, that in 1732 St. Ange erected at his own expense a new one, located this time some distance from the river; but it was constructed so poorly that in a few years decay once more set in.

Jean Groston, sieur de St. Ange, had now passed his sixtieth year, and asked to be relieved of his command on account of his age. The government, which had never regarded him as especially well fitted for the position of commandant, accepted his resignation apparently late in 1732; but he continued to exercise the functions of his office until the arrival of his successor in the fall of 1733.[11]

[9] Minister to Bienville, September 2, 1732, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 57:796 ff.; J. le Boullenger, S. J., to Bienville, April 28, 1733, *ibid.*, C13A, 17:286.

[10] This proposal was not favored by the government on the ground that the French married to Indians would refuse to waive their rights to the soil. Bienville and Salmon to the minister, April 11, 1735, *ibid.*, 20:21.

[11] See correspondence by officials, *ibid.*, 15:119 ff.; B, 57:794, 859 ff. After his retirement he became lieutenant on half pay and lived on the estate he had acquired in the Illinois; here he died in the late spring of 1740. *Ibid.*, C13A, 25:94 ff.

The appointment of a new commandant in the Illinois was left to Governor Bienville, who had been recalled to office in Louisiana as the one man capable of defeating British intrigues and pacifying the Indians. In view of the extreme importance of the Illinois district to the province the governor recommended that the commandery be raised to the dignity of a royal lieutenancy with second command in the province; but the ministry declined to act. As Bienville realized, it was not easy to find a man qualified for the place; it was necessary that he should be firm enough to keep in hand the white population, made up largely of Canadians impatient of all control, and also the Indians, ever quick to detect any sign of weakness in the white leaders; at the same time a certain gentleness and forbearance was required in dealing with the "red children." Then, of course, a man was needed whose integrity could be trusted alike by his government and by those in his charge. St. Ange, it appeared, had been able to get on with the Indians but had lacked the firmness to prevent the *habitants* from entering into disputes.[12] The governor, in October, 1732, replaced him by a young officer considered as preëminently fitted for the exacting Illinois post, Pierre Dartaguiette.

The new commander was the son of Diron Dartaguiette, an early civil official of Louisiana, and the brother of another Diron who had served in the south and in the Illinois during the early years of the century. Born in 1698, an ensign in 1717, and a captain in 1729, Pierre spent his life in the service of the king and the Company of the Indies. In the twenties he had been stationed for some time under Boisbriant in the Illinois; his distinguished conduct in the Natchez campaign of 1730 obtained for him the brevet of major as well as a local command at New Orleans, whence he was transferred to his new position. Young, chivalrous, and joyous, he was a favorite not only of the French but also of the Indians. The *commissaire-ordonnateur,* Salmon, pays him a high tribute: "A very good officer," he wrote in 1733, "devoted to his profession and, above all, wholly disinterested." Unfortunately, his constitution seems to have been none too strong; and he was poor

[12] Bienville to minister, October 25, 1732, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 14: 91 ff.

—perhaps he was one of those officers, deplored by Bienville, who could not afford to purchase wine and destroyed their health by drinking water. He held his last position only a few short years; but he was remembered long. The "days of Dartaguiette," his times were called—the romantic age of early Illinois.[13]

Dartaguiette started for the Illinois in the early summer of 1733, accompanied by a retinue of *voyageurs* and Negroes and two companies of soldiers with four cannon. These troops brought the number of the Illinois garrison up to one hundred and fifty men. The large convoy passed in safety those spots of the lower Mississippi made dangerous by the Natchez and Chickasaw; but Dartaguiette's own magnificent and decked bateau of sixteen tons, lately built for the Mississippi convoy, hit a snag not far above the Ohio and sank, some of the crew being drowned.

After an enthusiastic reception from the inhabitants, the new commandant began his work. Generally speaking, the largest share of his time and attention was absorbed by internal Indian affairs and by the two wars then waging. First of all, the spirit of revolt must be quelled. He declined to receive the Cahokia Indians until they made full reparation for their insolent conduct. Never, says Bienville in his report, were savages more submissive. On the place of the disorders was erected a small fort, in which was stationed a garrison of twenty men, commanded by Ensign Montchervaux. The militia was also reorganized, every *habitant* being compelled to be enrolled.[14]

The Indian problem, more perplexing than all others, was assuming daily more dangerous proportions. The Illinois country was threatened both by the Foxes from the north and by the Chickasaw and Natchez from the south; communication with Canada and lower Louisiana had consequently become impossible except for a well-guarded convoy.

[13] Dartaguiette attributed his transfer to the request of the inhabitants and savages of the district, which doubtless was a factor in his selection. His age is given in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 17:212.

[14] Salmon to minister, April 22, 1734, *ibid.*, 19:45 ff.; see also *ibid.*, B, 61: 689. This fort at Cahokia may be the building that has been removed to Jackson Park, Chicago.

After the defeat of 1730 it had been reported that the Foxes were completely destroyed, but the next few years proved that their proud and independent spirit, though subdued, was not crushed. The French tried to retain the neighboring nations in alliance, but the fear inspired by the French success had changed the feelings of the native population in favor of the rebellious tribe; and their kin, the Sauk and the Mascoutens, were making ready to join them again. In 1732 the Foxes, who had fortified themselves on the Fox river (Illinois), were attacked and defeated by Hurons and Iroquois from the mission-villages of Canada.[15] The tribe was scattered and sought asylum west of the Mississippi. The next year the war flared up again in the midst of negotiations for peace, when Nicolas Coulon, sieur de Villiers, the hero of 1730, was killed at Green Bay.

The Sauk now determined to join their fortunes with those of the Foxes and practically amalgamating with them, took refuge among the Iowa. Several expeditions were directed against their new quarters without much success. Dartaguiette sent from Fort de Chartres a force of Frenchmen under two sons of former commandants of the Illinois, Pierre St. Ange and Louis Dutisné, to stir up the tribes of the Missouri valley, but they accomplished nothing; a party that went forth the next year, 1735, had no better result. Continual attacks, however, had gradually worn away the strength of the Foxes, and Dartaguiette could finally report that they were no longer spoken of in the country.[16] Even their allies, the Iowa, gave in and came to a French post on the Missouri river, commanded by Louis St. Ange, to beg for peace.[17]

In 1737 the Indian tribes of the northwest united in a plea in behalf of the Foxes, which the governor of New France felt compelled to grant. The Foxes and the Sauk refused, however, to return to the blood-stained neighborhood of Green Bay, and

[15] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:172; Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 59:411. This was probably the battle fought in Kendall county, which Mr. Steward identifies as that of 1730. See above, p. 164, note 51.

[16] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:209, 215 ff., 229; Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 21:179, 218 ff., 235.

[17] *Ibid.*, 218. The post had been built some time before this by two men who had received a grant of the monopoly of the trade on the Missouri and Ohio rivers. *Ibid.*, 13:239.

pitched their wigwams near the lead mines on the Rock river, a district henceforth to be closely associated with their name. Here Pierre Paul, sieur de Marin, an adroit trader, was stationed to keep them contented and to maintain peace in the northwest.[18]

The gradual disappearance of the danger from the Foxes prepared the way for a serious effort to ward off from French America the threatening attack of the southern Indians. Governor Bienville, recalled to Louisiana for the express purpose of restoring "peace and tranquillity," had found conditions very serious in the south, where the Natchez, Chickasaw, and Cherokee were firmly bound in alliance with the British traders from the Carolinas and Virginia. "Constantly intriguing," Governor Perier remarked about the British in 1730; and in 1731, he reported a rumor that they were building forts on the Tennessee river. In 1735, Bienville wrote that deserters from the Wabash brought the story of an establishment of theirs on the upper Ohio.[19] The report was possibly premature; still, slowly but surely, the British were advancing their outposts, sometimes quietly, sometimes with shouting and exultant speeches. Their contempt for French claims was evident in the charter, issued in 1732, granting to the new colony of Georgia territory extending from sea to sea — surely an open challenge to the masters of the Mississippi.

The situation seemed really desperate. The tribes in the north of the province, the Illinois, Miami, Missouri, and Osage, were uncertain. The Shawnee on the Scioto were playing fast and loose with both French and British. In the south, the Natchitoch had recently revolted. The Yazoo and Alibamu could not be relied upon, and the Choctaw were split up into innumerable small groups, some favoring the French, some the British. To unite the Choctaw was a necessary measure, yet the value of their aid was doubtful.

There was one hopeful feature: the tribes of the north and the middle west — the Hurons and other Iroquois from the missions of Canada, the Illinois, Miami, Potawatomi, and other

[18] Kellogg, "The Fox Indians During the French Régime," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 55: 179 ff.

[19] Bienville to minister, May 16, 1735, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[18]A, 20: 85 ff.

tribes north of the Ohio — could always be enlisted for a war against the Indians of the south. Almost continually bands of warriors from the north or south were crossing the river in search of scalps. The territory of Kentucky had become a "dark and bloody country" long before the white men visited its fertile valleys. No real feeling of solidarity could exist among the red men of the continent so long as this feud persisted.

Governor Bienville, as yet unprepared to muster the forces of the French against the enemy, was obliged to content himself with fostering Indian expeditions.[20] Christian Iroquois from New France were encouraged to make raids into the south; Chief Chicagou told Dartaguiette that in 1733 a party of thirty-seven Iroquois had passed his village with nineteen Chickasaw captives.[21] Post Vincennes, with its garrison increased to forty men, served as a base from which numerous parties were sent into the enemy's territory. Most important of all, by a succession of attacks the northern Indians reopened the communication by the Mississippi.[22]

Finally Governor Bienville was prepared to strike; both Indians and British traders were to be crushed. He planned to trap the Chickasaw between two armies, one from the south led by himself, and the other, under Dartaguiette, from the north; the two armies were to meet near the present site of Memphis on the Mississippi, between the tenth and the fifteenth of March, 1736. Accordingly, during the winter of 1735–1736, Dartaguiette assembled his forces for the campaign.[23] He gathered nearly four hundred men, about one hundred and thirty of these being French, regulars and militia, and the rest Illinois, Miami, Quapaw, and Iroquois. A second corps, consisting mostly of Indians from Cahokia and Michigamea, was formed under Montchervaux; it was expected to join the main army during the advance. An order was sent to the command-

[20] His delay called forth urgent commands from France. Minister to Bienville, September 2, 1734, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 61:655 ff.

[21] Salmon to minister, April 22, 1734, *ibid.*, C[13]A, 19:45 ff.

[22] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:220.

[23] In narrating the campaign I have combined the following reports: Bienville to minister, April 1, 1736, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 21:164 ff.; June 28, 1736, *ibid.*, 207 ff.; one by a survivor of Dartaguiette's army, 1736, *ibid.*, 345; one by Cremont, February 21, 1737, *ibid.*, 22:252.

ant at the Arkansas and to the Sieur de Vincennes at Vincennes to muster their forces and join the principal force under Dartaguiette.

The main body left Fort de Chartres and Kaskaskia in the latter part of February, 1736. Although his progress was slow in the hope that Montchervaux with his Cahokians and the forces from the Arkansas would come up, Dartaguiette arrived at the meeting place at the appointed time. Bienville was not there. Owing to delays in the preparation, the commander-in-chief was at the time still in his camp at the junction of the Tombigbee and Mobile rivers. He had hastened to inform Dartaguiette of the delay, but the bearer of his message had failed to find the commandant in the Illinois. Hurrying after him he reached Dartaguiette's army just as it was discovering Bienville's failure. Prudence advised waiting; on the other hand, provisions were needed and the waiting might be done better under the shelter of a village than in a camp. The council of officers and chiefs, consulted by Dartaguiette, decided to attack an isolated Chickasaw village near by which appeared easy prey.

The attack on the village, made in the early morning of March 25, failed utterly. The Chickasaw had learned of the impending danger; advised by thirty British traders who were in their villages, they had stationed four or five hundred savages on a neighboring hill and at the strategical moment hurled them against the enemy. Dartaguiette's men, taken by surprise, were forced to retreat, hoping to protect the baggage; the Chickasaw followed close upon them. Panic-stricken, the Illinois and Miami fled almost at once; but the Quapaw and the Iroquois stood their ground and fought bravely by the side of the French. Their courage saved them from annihilation. The French suffered most severely; over forty were killed, and nearly all the others were taken prisoners; among the latter were the commandant himself — wounded on hand, thigh, and body — Vincennes, Pierre St. Ange, Louis Dutisné, and the Jesuit father, Antoine Sénat.

The battle was over by nine o'clock in the forenoon; the outbreak of a terrific storm allowed the remnants of the beaten army to escape. Two days later the fugitives met the re-

enforcements from Cahokia and the Arkansas and with these returned to the Illinois.

Two of the prisoners captured were set aside to be exchanged for a Chickasaw who had been taken by the French. The fate of the others was later learned from a woman who had been a slave among the Chickasaw and had escaped. "She has related that the same day as the attack, M. Dartaguiette, his officers, the Father Senat Jesuit, and the other prisoners to the number of 17 were thrown alive into two fires which the squaws had prepared, and there they burned. She has assured us also that during the preparation of this barbaric tragedy our French sang, just as is the custom of the Indians, who judge the value of a warrior only by the loud or weak sound of his voice at the moment they are making him die."[24] Thus perished Dartaguiette, the most beloved of French commandants of the Illinois. He died without learning that his former gallantry had been rewarded by the royal bestowal of the cross of St. Louis.[25]

From the letters found on the prisoners, the Chickasaw learned that a second engagement was imminent. Provided with a large supply of firearms and ammunition from the booty and reënforced by a body of Cherokee, they awaited the attack. It was soon to come. Bienville, unaware of Dartaguiette's defeat, had now finished his preparations and left camp. With an army of over five hundred French and a large force of Choctaw, he engaged the Chickasaw in battle in the last days of May. The latter, again directed by the British, defended themselves bravely and skillfully; and Bienville was compelled to order the retreat. While effecting it, he received the first news of the Dartaguiette disaster.

The labors of three years had been brought to naught by one stroke; Bienville's personal prestige was shattered, and the situation was desperate. The governor turned his attention immediately to the regions most threatened, the Illinois and the Ohio. Knowing that the harvest there had been poor, he hastened the convoy, placing in charge of it one of the most trustworthy officers in Louisiana, Captain de Benac. Forty-

[24] Cremont to minister, February 21, 1737, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 22:252 ff.

[25] *Ibid.*, 21:277.

three picked soldiers accompanied it as its guard; they were to take the place of those killed in the garrisons. The convoy was manned by two hundred French, Negroes, and Indians, a party strong enough to ward off any attack.

Meanwhile a body of four hundred Chickasaw and Cherokee was reported some eighty leagues from the mouth of the Ohio. The acting commandant of Fort de Chartres was instructed to collect the tribes of his own and the neighboring districts; and Fort de Chartres was hurriedly repaired. The Ottawa and Hurons, learning of the Illinois' defeat, sent two hundred warriors; and reënforcements for Post Vincennes were obtained by summoning Louis St. Ange de Bellerive from the fort on the Missouri and sending him to take command there.

As the successor of the deceased Dartaguiette, Bienville chose Alphonse de la Buissonnière, who as second in command under Dartaguiette had been the acting commandant since the latter's departure for the campaign; this choice later received official approbation. The new commander was a well-qualified officer, one of the sterner type of military men. At the time of his appointment he was forty-five years of age, had been in service in the colony since 1720,[26] and had been stationed in the Illinois for the preceding three years as a captain.

La Buissonnière gains additional interest through the romance of his marriage.[27] While still a lieutenant he had fallen in love with Mademoiselle Trudeau, the daughter of a settler beneath his own station and as poor as himself. The match at first met with strong official and priestly opposition; every effort was made to prevent it; even a false report was started that the lieutenant had a wife in France. As Governor Perier obstinately refused his consent, without which the couple could not be married in Louisiana, they eloped to Spanish

[26] Bienville says that he was intelligent and understood fortifications, but that he was suffering from sickness. June 15, 1740, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 25:86. After La Buissonnière's death Bienville said that he understood the Indian tribes of his region. Bienville to minister, April 30, 1741, *ibid.*, 26:76; Beachamp, commandant at Mobile, in a letter to the minister, April 25, 1741, laments his death as a great loss, and says that he was mourned by all who knew him; he was a good officer and very intelligent. *Ibid.*, 207.

[27] *Ibid.*, 16:156 ff.; 18:38; 20:47.

Pensacola for the ceremony. The Louisiana clergy were scandalized, but in spite of their opposition, Bienville permitted the "pretended" wife to accompany La Buissonnière to the Illinois. At Natchez, however, the bride was stricken with smallpox and could not go on; after her recovery she returned to her father's home. Finally Governor Bienville secured a confirmation of the marriage from the court; and, after two years' delay, Madame de la Buissonnière joined her husband in the Illinois. The whole procedure was typical of French colonial administration; the marriage lot of a subordinate officer was a serious matter of state.

La Buissonnière's administration of four years was not marked by any unusual events, if the participation of the Illinois Indians in the Chickasaw war of 1739–1740 is excepted. The Illinois gave no trouble, apparently ashamed of their disgraceful conduct in 1736. The Piankashaw at Vincennes, terrorized by the Chickasaw victory and harassed by frequent raids from across the Ohio, decided to leave the village and to return to their old station on the Vermilion river, thus reducing the French post to its small garrison and a few Indians. Bienville proposed its removal to the junction of the Wabash and the Ohio, or even farther south, where he thought he could persuade the Kickapoo and the Mascoutens to settle. These tribes had moved their villages in 1735 from the Fox and Rock rivers to the country of the Miami, with whom they were in constant friction. The removal of the fort, however, was never carried out.

In 1737 the Jesuits sounded the alarm of a conspiracy of all tribes of the central west; they particularly feared the result of the efforts of the Miami to seduce the Illinois. La Buissonnière thought these fears greatly exaggerated, if not unfounded. The Miami, he remarked, were doing in this case only what the Illinois were always doing; they liked rum, and since they could not get it from the Jesuit fathers, they were buying it from the British. The sarcasm in the remark is obvious. Perhaps ecclesiastic opposition to the commandant's marriage still rankled.

The Foxes gave no trouble during La Buissonnière's administration. The southern Indians, particularly the Chickasaw,

on the other hand, frequently appeared in the Illinois territory. The Illinois returned the raids, sending several parties across the Ohio in 1738, but for the most part they accomplished nothing. The Illinois had degenerated; they were now warriors only in name.

The perpetual problem of Fort de Chartres demanded the attention of Commandant la Buissonnière. Dartaguiette had reported the fort to be in a bad condition, and it was proposed to rebuild it near Kaskaskia. A plan was accordingly drawn by the engineer, Brontin, and a site on the bluffs east of the Kaskaskia river and opposite the village was selected. La Buissonnière, then in a subordinate position, on being asked by Bienville to examine the project, reported that the fort would cost too much, could not protect the French settlements, and would have an insufficient water supply. The objections were sent to Dartaguiette, who answered that he and his advisers knew of no better locality. In June, 1736, Bienville was convinced and asked the ministry for thirty thousand livres for the fort. Two years later La Buissonnière arranged for the delivery of the stone, and Bienville sent an engineer to the Illinois to oversee the work, but the next year the commandant was ordered to suspend work on account of the tremendous rise in prices. At one time in 1740 and 1741, Bienville even considered transferring the whole establishment at Fort de Chartres to the mouth of the Tennessee river.[28]

Ever since 1736, Bienville had been planning a second Chickasaw campaign, taking most elaborate measures to insure success. Coöperation from New France was assured: a detachment came from Mackinac and another from Canada via the Ohio river, the first large party of Frenchmen to use this route. Four new companies sent from France in the summer of 1739 formed the nucleus of the southern army; to these Bienville added his regulars and militia from the lower Mississippi. La Buissonnière led forty soldiers and one hundred and seventeen Indians from the Illinois and was later joined by thirty

[28] Report, apparently by Buissonnière, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 18: 122 ff.; Bienville to minister, May 18, 1733, *ibid.*, 16: 225 ff.; April 22, May 18, 1734, *ibid.*, 18: 142 ff.; August 27, 1735, *ibid.*, 117 ff.; April 19, 1738, *ibid.*, 23: 18 ff.; August 10, 1739, *ibid.*, 24: 12; June 24, 1740, *ibid.*, 25: 12; April 30, 1741, *ibid.*, 26: 85 ff.

Kaskaskia braves. The command of the army was intrusted to the Sieur de Noailles d'Aimé, who ordered all contingents to assemble in September, 1739. The French west was again prepared to crush its enemies, both white men and Indians.

In spite of the governor's preparations, heavy and incessant rains, making the country impassable, threatened disaster. For a time it looked as if the Chickasaw, by merely awaiting an attack, could obtain an even greater triumph than in 1736; but when the French forces began to move, the Indians offered to make peace. The ensuing negotiations resulted in the promise of good behavior, the surrender of the Natchez (most of whom were, nevertheless, allowed to escape), and the return of three captured Frenchmen. But though the French had been saved from an embarrassing situation, the peace brought no security to the Illinois. In May, 1740, the convoy was attacked by the Cherokee, and five Frenchmen and one Negro were killed. Sometime later twenty-six *voyageurs* passing from the Illinois to the Miami were set upon by the same tribe, and nineteen were slain.

Discouraged, Bienville asked the king for permission to return to France; the request was granted rather ungraciously. Before his departure, La Buissonnière, commandant of the Illinois, died suddenly of apoplexy on December 11, 1740,[29] and Bienville had once more to select a head for the Illinois post. He chose the Sieur de Bertet,[30] one of the older officers of the district, holding the rank of captain. Since he was in France, however, Jean Baptiste Benoist, sieur de St. Claire, "somewhat indolent" and forty-seven years old, acted as commandant for about two years.[31]

Bertet had come to the colony in 1732 as a captain, and was now forty-three years old. Comments on him were everywhere favorable. Bienville says of him in 1740: "He is sagacious, disinterested, capable, knows the service, and is attached to his

[29] Bienville to minister, April 30, 1741, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 26:76.

[30] So spelled by himself; the rest of his name is unknown. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:479, note 1, says the proper form is "Bertel" or "Berthel."

[31] He had come to Louisiana as an ensign in 1717, was promoted in 1732, and was made a captain in 1737. During his administration there occurred a raid of Sauk and Foxes into northern Illinois.

duty."[32] The new governor left New Orleans in August, 1742, and arrived in Fort de Chartres at the end of November. He died suddenly on January 7, 1749, when once more the commandantship went *ad interim* to Benoist de St. Claire.

The ministry selected as the new governor of Louisiana a man as magnificent as his name, Pierre François Rigaud, baron de Cavagnal, marquis de Vaudreuil, the son of a former governor of Canada. He differed from his predecessor in many ways. He was more the grand seignior of the old type, with excellent official and social connections both in Canada and in France, more assertive toward his commandants than Bienville had been, and inclined to a policy of the strong hand in combating the British designs and in keeping the native population in proper subordination. During his administration the cost of the colony to France increased rapidly, due in some measure to war conditions, but also to the extravagance and venality of the officials.

War between Great Britain and France gave a new significance to western America. Since the death of Louis XIV the cabinets of the two countries had attempted to adjust all causes of friction peaceably. In 1733, however, France entered into a secret defensive alliance with Spain, which proved embarrassing when the latter drifted into war with Great Britain in 1739; still conflict might then have been avoided, had it not been for the seizure of Silesia by Frederick II of Prussia, in the next year; unwillingly, France was drawn to his aid. Great Britain's action became the critical question. Robert Walpole, the prime minister, had assured France that he would remain neutral; but he was swept out of power early in 1742, and the new ministry entered into an understanding with Austria. For various reasons, however, the formal declaration of war against France was delayed until March, 1744.

The War of the Austrian Succession — known in American history as King George's War — was fought in Europe and

[32] June 15, 1740, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 25:86. Governor Vaudreuil wrote of him: "He could not easily be replaced." To minister, November 20, 1746, *ibid.*, 30:72. The Canadian governor wrote in 1748: "I do not think it would be easy to find an officer as competent as he is to direct and improve that settlement." To minister, September 1, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:496; see also 500.

touched America only on the northeast, where the British were successful in capturing Louisburg. As time passed France felt more and more the drain on its resources. When the war was ended, in October, 1748, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle determined in general a reëstablishment of the *status quo ante*. It was soon to be seen that this treaty was more in the nature of a truce than of real peace.

Although the country west of the Alleghenies played a smaller part in the war than did the Atlantic colonies, the war was of great significance for the territory. At its outbreak there was no realization in the courts of France or of Great Britain of the importance of the course events were taking in the Mississippi valley. Out of this indifference the French court was to be violently shaken by the happenings on the banks of the Ohio. At the same time several British politicians were aroused to an understanding of the magnitude of the stake for which the rival countries were playing. Thereafter the dispute concerning the future dominion in the Mississippi valley became more and more a live issue.

When the war between Great Britain and France had been declared in 1744, the Canadian officials were very optimistic concerning their ability to control the situation in the west. They reported the Indians as friendly and prepared to make war on the British traders. None of them, the governor of New France wrote, "were willing to accept the underground belts the English caused to be introduced into their villages, to induce them to declare against the French."[33] Parties of Indians were sent from Detroit against the British settlements in the Carolinas; and a Shawnee war party captured eight British traders on the Ohio. Even the Illinois tribes, after exhibiting an irritating apathy that caused the governor of Louisiana to stop their presents, were roused to action.

The situation was deceptive. The commandants in the posts were soon to be rudely awakened from their illusion. The sentiment of the Indians turned like a weathercock, and the French were all but swept away by the whirlwind they had set in motion in their effort to exterminate the Foxes.

[33] Beauharnois to minister, October 28, 1745, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:447 ff.

The Indians' growing fear of the French could have been allayed only by a continuous supply of merchandise both for presents and for trade; but the French, after having made the Indians of the west economically dependent, failed to supply the needs of their "children." The importation of merchandise from France was almost impossible, and the usual supply obtained from the colony of New York was curtailed. Consequently the prices of goods, advanced one hundred and fifty per cent, became almost prohibitive. Even though *congés* were now offered freely and without cost, the governor of New France was obliged to report that few loads of merchandise were being shipped west.[34] In spite of all measures, the returns in furs fell off in 1747 to a "hundred and twenty thousands of Beaver skins."[35] This loss is a gauge of the reduction of merchandise sent to the upper country.

Under the circumstances, the Indians naturally turned to the British traders. Into the region south of the Ohio the Virginians and the Carolinians continued to send their annual trains of pack horses. Even the traders from New York appeared as competitors here. In 1743 four Englishmen and a Dutchman in two canoes were captured on the Mississippi south of the Natchez. They carried a route map, a passport, and a permit from "a judge of Albany" to trade.[36]

To meet this pressure on the south Governor Vaudreuil repeated a proposal, popular with all his predecessors, to erect a fort on the lower Ohio at or near the mouth of the Tennessee river.[37] Here he hoped to persuade the Shawnee, the Kickapoo, and the Mascoutens to settle. The fort, he considered, would form a defense against the British encroachments, would overawe the Indians, and thus would protect the communications between the Illinois and Canada. Although in France the project met scant official favor, because of the heavy expense

[34] Beauharnois to minister, September 22, 1746, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:450. See also report for 1747, *ibid.*, 470; Bigot to minister, October 22, 1748, *ibid.*, 502.

[35] *Ibid.*, 472.

[36] Louboey to minister, August 2, 1743, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 28:158. It was at this time that the first known Englishman caught a view of the French villages of the Illinois. He was captured on the Ohio by Indians and brought to Fort de Chartres.

[37] The first proposal antedated the declaration of war. Vaudreuil to minister, July 18, 1743, *ibid.*, 52 ff.

involved, it was finally agreed to as a war measure. The government promptly dropped it, however, when the impending peace with Great Britain furnished a suitable excuse. In 1746, the project appearing to be on the point of realization, the Shawnee on the upper Ohio consented to move to southern Illinois; and a party of them actually came, but the removal of the tribe as a whole was not effected.[38]

More significant than the British encroachments from the southern colonies was the expansion of trade from Pennsylvania, promoted by the colonial council, to the region of the upper Ohio. The two outstanding figures in this enterprise were George Croghan, an Irishman, and Conrad Weiser, a German. By crafty diplomacy and by the use of plentiful merchandise, they won to the British cause the Indians of the Ohio and Wabash valleys and of the southern lakes region; and their influence was felt even farther afield.[39] The western center of this Pennsylvania trade was the Shawnee village, Logstown, situated on the right bank of the Ohio about eighteen miles below the forks, around which there settled bands from many other tribes.[40] The Miami, always somewhat hostile to the French, came directly under the influence of the British traders from here; and one band, led by its chief, La Demoiselle, moved in 1747 to the Great Miami river and established Pickawillany, which soon became another center of British influence.[41]

The history of this alteration of trade and political alliance may be followed in the alarmist letters, memorials, and journals of the French officials of both New France and Louisiana, more particularly in those of the former. A memoir of 1747 noted: "They [the British] have succeeded so well in making them [the Indians] their devoted Creatures that it is these same Savages who at their instigation have killed the French at Sandoské; who Wished to Surprise detroit to put those same English there; who, As there is every reason to Believe, have

[38] Perhaps Shawneetown received its name at this time.

[39] Consult the very able analysis of the situation in Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 1:315 ff.

[40] *Ibid.*, 1:355.

[41] *Ibid.*, 2:261. "Minutes of the Provincial Council," in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 5:308, 311, 314 ff.

borne their presents, their Collars, and their speeches to all the Savage nations of the Regions of the upper country."[42]

The condition in the Illinois district was particularly alarming. The conspiracy — if there was one — that was being hatched required the coöperation of the Illinois Indians; the French force there must be massacred. The tribes allied to the British used both persuasion and coercion. The Illinois were invited to bring their trade to Pickawillany; threats were also made. Commandant Bertet wrote on August 11, 1747, to the governor of New France that three strange Indians had brought "a message from the English, in the name of the Iroquois, Hurons, Abenaquis, Pouz and Ottawa, and all the Ouabash Tribes, inviting the Illinois to abandon the French, otherwise they were dead men."[43]

Rumors, and rumors of rumors, flew up and down the Ohio valley; and it is difficult to determine how far the British traders were implicated in a plot to massacre the French at all the western posts, or even to decide whether there was such a conspiracy at all. Reports to the governor of Canada disclosed the greatest restlessness among the tribes and the inability of the commandants to keep the Indians in subjection. Murders of Frenchmen occurred everywhere. La Demoiselle, the Miami chief at Pickawillany, was undoubtedly the agent in any intrigue that was set on foot; and he evidently made large promises to incite the natives. How far he was successful cannot be determined; but French officials, among whom was the governor of Louisiana, were convinced that a general conspiracy of the Indians, like that which had destroyed the Natchez, was imminent.[44]

The French villages of the Illinois were in a precarious situation, if the Illinois Indians should decide to join forces with the enemy, or if the Wea and their allies should make an attack. Fort de Chartres was falling to pieces, the storehouse contained "not an ell of cloth nor a particle of ammunition," the communication with New Orleans had been cut off for

[42] Raymond to minister, November 2, 1747, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:475. Consult also "Diary of Events, 1747," *ibid.*, 478 ff.

[43] *Ibid.*, 487.

[44] On the situation in the west see *ibid.*, 478 ff., 505 ff.; for the Illinois, *ibid.*, 487.

months, and that with Detroit was unreliable. So grave was the danger and so slight his power of meeting it, that Bertet in 1747 abandoned Fort de Chartres and moved the garrison to Kaskaskia, where he concentrated the population of the other villages. Here he waited impatiently for news. For weeks he was uncertain what had been the fortune of war. Was French America lost? Was Louisiana deserted?[45]

The means adopted by Bertet to save the Illinois received praise from one of the ablest of the governors of New France, La Galissonière. He wrote: "Through lack of soldiers, Monsieur de Bertet was throughout the war in constant danger from which he extricated himself chiefly through his own good management, and to a slight extent by means of the munitions and goods that were sent him from here."[46]

The years of war had taught both France and Great Britain the necessity of controlling the Indian tribes. The British colonies had met with many obstacles in their negotiations with their allies, the Iroquois confederacy, and with difficulty had secured their aid. The experience of the French had been more discouraging. During the closing years of the war their whole fabric of alliances, so long their special pride, fell to pieces; and they faced the calamity of defeat at the hands of their former friends. Peace now prevailed; both nations entered eagerly upon the work of correcting their errors and reconstructing their defenses. The last struggle for the dominion of the Mississippi valley could not be long deferred.

[45] *New York Colonial Documents*, 10:143.
[46] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:497.

X. THE COUNTRY OF THE ILLINOIS

THROUGHOUT the preceding chapters the eye has caught stray glimpses of villages lying snugly under the high bluffs of the American Bottom, where dwelt the French colonists. It is time to stay the narrative of great events — too frequently the whole content of history — and to take a nearer view of these interesting people who were the first Europeans to make their homes in the territory that was to become the state of Illinois, for over them hangs the glamour of romance that imparts to their petty doings and humdrum affairs an enchantment not possessed by the more important events of a later age.

Concerning their manner of life two opposing traditions have developed: one asserts that the French of the Illinois country lived in an Arcadian simplicity, undisturbed by the wranglings of law courts; the other depicts the government as harsh, autocratic, and avaricious, oppressing the people under the hard heel of authority.[1] In truth the French people of the Illinois country were neither entering the millennium, nor were they ruled by a rod of iron wielded by an irresponsible military officer. The royal administration attempted to impose on them such restrictions as were customary in contemporary Europe, but these were greatly mitigated by the isolation of the colony in the wilderness, and on the whole the officials appointed to rule the Illinois were, both in intelligence and probity, above the average of similar officials in the British colonies.

The Illinois district of the province of Louisiana had little resemblance to the present state. Though officially named the country of the Illinois, the district extended beyond the boundaries of the hunting grounds of the Illinois Indians and

[1] Governor John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (ed. 1887), 53, is the authority for the first, and the British officer, Captain Pittman, in his *Present State of the European Settlements* (ed. Hodder), 99, offers the evidence for the other.

included the whole course of the Ohio and both banks of the Mississippi from the line of the Ohio to that of the Missouri and Illinois rivers; it constituted, therefore, a narrow belt extending across the great valley from the Alleghenies to the Rockies.[2]

This district was the seat of government for a still larger division of the province, the commandery, which included also the district of the Arkansas river. Within this larger territory the commandant extended his rule — though not to the exclusion of direct orders from the governor — over the small French settlement on the Arkansas, practically abandoned by 1731, a post on the Missouri, and Vincennes on the Wabash. North of a line, never very definitely fixed, but running from the Chicago portage to the Wabash, lay the province of New France, the nearest post of which was Ouiatenon, near modern Lafayette, Indiana.

Throughout the period of the French régime the question of the inclusion of the Illinois in Louisiana or New France was repeatedly opened. The region had originally belonged to the northern province, whence most of its settlers had come. In 1717, however, it was included in the grant of the Mississippi Company. When Louisiana became a royal province in 1731 and also after the danger of the British encroachments was fully realized in 1748, the question was again debated. In both cases it was decided by the undoubted fact that the Mississippi river determined the district's economic interest; but, since the Illinois lay "at the extreme end of our colonies," as one governor expressed it, it was brought into close association with both; and in the crisis of war the superior authority of the northern governor was automatically extended over it.[3]

[2] "Regiment sur la Regie des Affaires de la Colonie de la Louisiane," September 5, 1721, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 6:218 ff. In all the early documents mentioning the boundaries the Ohio river is called the Wabash and there seems to be no doubt about the inclusion of its valley in the district of the Illinois; but when the name "Wabash" came to be more definitely applied to the river now bearing that name, the jurisdiction of the commandant of the Illinois appears to have been limited on the east, particularly so when it was apparent that British operations in the upper Ohio valley could be better combated from New France. Still, up to the last, there is evidence that the forks of the Ohio were regarded by some officials as being included in the district of the Illinois.

[3] Minister to La Galissonière, April 25, 1748, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:14 ff. For the answers of the governors see *ibid.*, 17:493 ff., 512 ff.

The principal military and administrative officer of the district and commandery was the major commandant; to him was assigned the duty of commanding the troops of the marine stationed in the district as well as the militia of the villages. He was also the administrative head of the whole territory of the commandery. Besides administrative functions, the major commandant was expected to exercise a general supervision over agriculture in the territory under his jurisdiction, to examine the land that was cleared and to estimate its value, to find out what crops were being raised, and to see to it that each inhabitant was exerting his energies to the best advantage to himself and the community. He was instructed by the Mississippi Company to watch carefully new colonists to determine how much credit could be extended to them. Moreover, he was to supervise the fur trade, to see to it that a sufficient number of churches were built to accommodate the inhabitants, and, finally, to take an annual census.[4]

The garrison at Fort de Chartres was never very large. In 1747 there were one hundred and thirty-five men and thirteen officers; in 1751 there were six companies numbering three hundred. In 1763 Governor Dabbadie noted in his journal that there were "one hundred and ninety-six men in garrison, where in the height of war there were never more than one hundred men."[5] The officers represented the highest social caste of the community; many were scions of noble families, and all belonged to the French gentry. Amidst their primeval surroundings they made a gay appearance in their long coats, embroidered vests, and knee breeches; and the scene was brightened by the equally gorgeous raiment of the few matrons who were assisting their husbands to create a miniature Versailles on the banks of the Mississippi.

The soldiers of the garrison, however, made the illusion hard to create, for they were usually in a ragged condition.

[4] The major commandant of the Illinois outranked all other military officers of the province except the governor and the lieutenant commandant, and the question of erecting the northern position into the first lieutenancy of the province was frequently debated. The title was never given the post, but Boisbriant received the appointment as a personal honor.

[5] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period,* 164; Archives Nationales, Colonies, D^2C, 51: number 2; *ibid.*, $C^{13}A$, 35: 89.

The government supply of clothing was always inadequate, and the men's pay was too poor and usually too far in arrears for them to supply the deficiency. In 1733 Governor Bienville reported that the weapons of the Illinois troops were so poor that the soldiers "preferred to arm themselves with sticks rather than guns."[6] An English officer who saw them in 1765, when they were at their worst, wrote to a friend: "The French Troops we relieved here might be called anything else but Soldiers, in Short I defy the best drol comick to represent them at Drury Lane."[7] To foster an *esprit de corps* among such poorly dressed, underfed troops — usually recruited in the prisons and slums of French cities — was an impossible task, and desertions were frequent. Scarcely a year passed that a number of poor wretches did not seek to escape, trusting to the Indians to help them to the Spanish or British settlements.[8]

The French government attempted to secure efficiency and honesty of administration by appointing in each province two officials with almost equal authority, each of whom was represented in every district; it was expected that they would act as checks on each other. In New France these were the governor and the intendant, and in Louisiana, the governor and the *commissaire-ordonnateur,* both of the officials of the southern province being subordinated to those of the northern. The *commissaire-ordonnateur,* like the intendants of the mother country and of New France, was supposed to have final authority over finance, justice, and police, but in actual practice no definite line of demarcation separating his duties from those of the governor was or could be drawn; hence constant disputes with appeals to Versailles.[9] The political history of the French colonies is filled with the incessant and tiresome rows of these two officials. To complicate the situation further both these officers sat in the provincial council, which was endowed with original and appellate jurisdiction.

[6] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13A, 16: 138.

[7] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 106.

[8] Bienville to the minister, February 4, 1743, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 28: 34. Governor Kerlérec in a letter, June 21, 1754, writes of many such deserters; *ibid.,* 38: 66.

[9] Munro, "The Office of Intendant in New France," in *American Historical Review,* 12: 15 ff.

Over financial affairs pertaining to the colony the *commissaire-ordonnateur* exercised full authority. "The administration of the funds, of provisions, munitions, and merchandise, and in general every thing in connection with the magazines" belonged to him; and without his order "no payment, consumption, or sale" could be made.[10] Imagine the grievances of the governor!

When the Mississippi Company ruled over the Illinois, there was formed, as has been seen, a provincial council for the northern commandery. How long this continued to function is not known. Among the Kaskaskia manuscripts[11] there are a few indications of its existence as late as 1726, but after that date one man, Michel Chassin, alone signed as judge. After Dartaguiette inaugurated the royal government in the Illinois, there was a marked change in the judicial administration.

In 1734, Louis Auguste de la Loëre Flancour, a qualified judge and civil officer and a brother of a former official of the district, arrived in the Illinois after several years of service in the province.[12] His reputation for faithfulness was acknowledged by his superiors, one of whom wrote that he was a "steady fellow" who had not been "favored by fortune."[13] At the time of his appointment to the Illinois post he was principal clerk at Balize. After considerable correspondence about the status of his new office, he was made representative of the department of the marine, with which all French colonial officials were affiliated, and representative of the *commissaire-ordonnateur,* a position which placed him in charge of the departments of justice, police, and finance; and finally he received the title of civil and criminal judge.[14]

The numerous records of La Loëre Flancour's administra-

[10] The whole account is taken from the instruction of May 22, 1731, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 55: 593 ff. There is an interesting memoir on the administration of Louisiana, 1749, *ibid.*, C[13]A, 33: 151.

[11] Documents drawn up in Kaskaskia during the eighteenth century and preserved in the office of the circuit clerk at Chester, Illinois.

[12] Very few of the Kaskaskia manuscripts date before the time of Dartaguiette, but the period of the largest number really begins the year after his death. Probably the organization of the campaign against the Chickasaw prevented La Loëre Flancour from establishing orderly government before 1737.

[13] Salmon to the minister, May 12, 1733, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 17: 113 ff.

[14] Thus he signed himself in innumerable documents.

tion reveal him as a man precise and punctilious in the performance of his duties, particularly careful to see that his own records and those of his subordinates conformed to the minute regulations laid down by French law. His judicial duties were by no means light, for the French colonists were a litigious people, always running to the court for justice. Many quarrels which their contemporaries in the British colonies would have settled with their fists were gravely pleaded before this French justice, who decided them without the aid of a jury. The parties to a suit pleaded their cause in person, for lawyers were not permitted in the courts of the colonies, since, as the French minister wrote: "Experience has shown only too clearly how dangerous people of this sort are to the colonies, where chicanery is even more unfortunate because of the obstacles which it brings upon commerce and the cultivation of the land."[15]

The law administered in the Illinois court was that known as *coutume de Paris,* which was originally the common law in force in the city of Paris and the district depending on it.[16] This law was supplemented by edicts and ordinances of the king, which were legally registered by the provincial council of Louisiana in the same way in which they were registered in France by the *parlements.*[17] In general the expense of lawsuits was less than it was in England at the time.

La Loëre Flancour, who died of apoplexy in 1746, was succeeded by Joseph Buchet, who had been guardian of the warehouse in the Illinois country since 1733. The office of *garde-magasin* was an important factor in the trade of the province, for in its custody were placed the royal supplies for the govern-

[15] Minister to Bienville, September 2, 1732, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 57:797.

[16] Like the English common law it was, generally speaking, feudal law with some elements dating from a period prior even to the system of feudalism. This law was first codified in 1510, revised in 1580, and was extended to the colonies by Louis XIV. Glasson, *Précis Eléméntaire de l'Histoire du Droit Français, passim;* Lareau, *Histoire du Droit Canadien, passim.* In France in 1789, there were two hundred and eighty-five different codes of law or *coutumes.* Rambaud, *Histoire de la Civilization Française,* 2:142.

[17] Louis XIV in particular was greatly interested in the reform of the law and law procedure, and he was responsible for several long edicts containing drastic reforms. Rambaud, *Histoire de la Civilization Française,* 2:143. The reform of French law was continued in the eighteenth century under the influence of Chancellor d'Aguesseau, and the foundation of the famous Code Napoleon rests upon the reforms brought about by these two.

ment, and in the warehouse were received for export the products of the colonials. The supplies, when not needed by the administration, were sold directly to the citizens, so that the guardian was the manager of a considerable business. For goods received, such as furs, the guardian of the warehouse issued a certificate concerning the amount and value, which represented a lien on the warehouse and was used by the holder very much as a modern bank draft.

Though Buchet had won La Loëre Flancour's approval as guardian of the warehouse, he seems to have been neither as well trained nor as capable for the superior office as his predecessor had been. He was officially appointed in 1748,[18] and evidences of his activities exist as late as January 12, 1757. Of his two successors, Jean Arnold Valentine Bobe Descloseaux and Joseph Lefebvre, little is known.[19]

One other official of the Illinois, the royal notary, played an important rôle in French civil and social life. According to French law there must be one notary in every parish containing sixty households. His black suit made more somber the last rites and appeared to solemnize the betrothal. He drew, attested, and registered leases, deeds, all sales, agreements of all kinds, gifts, apprenticeships, and similar papers.[20] Practically no important act could be performed without the use of his quill pen. The fee for his services was small, in most cases only a franc.

The notary of the Illinois functioned generally, if not always, as royal *procureur* and clerk of the court. As clerk of the court he was compelled to keep carefully four registers, as clerk of the marine, seven, and as clerk of registration, at least two; few of these registers have been preserved.

The most prominent notary of the Illinois was Jean Baptiste Bertlor *dit* Barrois, who was certainly living in the district as early as 1732 and died in March, 1757. He was appar-

[18] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 32: 175.

[19] Alvord, "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century," in Illinois State Historical Library, *Bulletin*, volume 1, number 1, p. 17.

[20] His attested documents in acts called in French law acts of voluntary jurisdiction have all the force of a judgment of an American court. In Parton, *Life of Voltaire*, 1: 12 ff., will be found an interesting account of this official. Voltaire's father was a notary.

ently trained in the notorial art and was very conscientious in the performance of his duties. From the fact that some of his documents were written in a handwriting other than his own, it may be assumed that he employed assistants, one of whom was his successor, Joseph Labuxière, long a familiar figure in the American Bottom, for he was to see pass over the villages three sovereignties.[21]

The French government maintained other officials in the Illinois. The first doctor, named Guard, died in 1728; of the second, named Frederic, La Loëre Flancour said that he "didn't know his business." Others of better qualifications succeeded him.[22] Another important official was the interpreter, and at one time the government supported a midwife.

Besides the civil officials within the district of the Illinois there were the ecclesiastical; and important they were in the life of the French colonies, for on their exertions depended in large measure the maintenance of a modicum of civilization in the midst of the wilderness. When the Mississippi Company received its charter, one of its obligations was to build churches and maintain priests for the colonists. No new diocese was created for the province of Louisiana, so the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Quebec extended over the Mississippi valley. He attempted at first to divide the sphere of missionary work so as to limit the Jesuits to the region north of the Ohio river, but their evident preparedness to perform the necessary duties made this impossible. In the Illinois the Jesuits remained always the dominant order, their only rivals being the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions.

On the whole the bishop of Quebec seems to have preferred that the widely scattered communities of the extended diocese should be served by missionaries rather than by resident priests. It was not until the year 1722 that New France was generally divided into parishes. It is impossible to determine the date

[21] Alvord, "Illinois in the Eighteenth Century," in Illinois State Historical Library, *Bulletin*, volume 1, number 1, p. 17.

[22] There is mention of a Dr. Prevost as being appointed in 1718, but there is no proof of his ever going to the district. If he did, he was the first Illinois physician. Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 42^{bis}: 258; D^2D, 10: number 9. In 1734 there were only five or six physicians in all Louisiana, and two of these died that year.

of the establishment of parishes in the Illinois country; the archives of Quebec contain no record of it. Possibly these parishes, like many in Canada before 1722, owed their organization to the priests without due authorization. Certain it is that the priest at Kaskaskia was signing himself in 1720 as serving the parish of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. It was probably later that the parishes of the Holy Family at Cahokia and of Ste. Anne at Chartres village took form.[23]

No adequate description of the first church, which served the people of the village of Kaskaskia during the early years, exists. In 1753 the older building was replaced by a rather imposing edifice one hundred and four feet long and forty-four feet wide. This was erected through the efforts of three successive priests, Father Tartarin, Father Watrin, and Father Aubert, who set aside the greater part of their fees and offerings to the general building fund contributed by the parishioners. There has been preserved the following description of this church from much later days: "The aged Catholic church at Kaskaskia . . . . is a huge old pile, extremely awkward and ungainly, with its projecting eaves, its walls of hewn timber perpendicularly planted, and the interstices stuffed with mortar, with its quaint old fashioned spire, and its dark, storm-beaten casements. The interior of the edifice is somewhat imposing, notwithstanding the sombre hue of its walls; these are rudely plastered with lime, and decorated with a few dingy paintings. The floor is of loose, rough boards, and the ceiling arched with oaken panels. The altar and the lamp suspended above are very antique, I was informd by the officiating priest, having been used in the former church."[24]

In all accounts that have been preserved, the praise of the Jesuits in the performance of their duties to their parishioners is almost universal, only an occasional voice being raised against their strictness. Besides the regularly recurring functions of their calling, the fathers gave daily instruction, for the most part religious, to the French children, thus becoming the first school-teachers of the Illinois country.[25]

[23] Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada*, 182.

[24] Flagg, *The Far West*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 27:62; Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 77.

[25] *Ibid.*, 76.

Besides the duties of the church at Kaskaskia the Jesuits attended to those of the churches of Ste. Genevieve on the western bank of the Mississippi and of Vincennes on the Wabash river. Among the Indians they had erected a church at the village of the Kaskaskia and another at Michigamea, which at some time unknown was abandoned because of the indifference of the savages.[26]

The principal seat of the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions was at Cahokia, where they continued to exercise their duties till the end of the French régime.[27] From 1712 to 1718 the only resident priest was Father Dominique Marie Varlet, a learned man, who after his return to Europe became a man of note and a Jansenist bishop; for his heresies he was excommunicated by three popes.[28] Practically nothing is known of

[26] It may have been abandoned when the Foxes destroyed the village in 1752. The list of Jesuits in the Illinois, so far as known, is as follows:

Marquette, Father Jacques (James), 1673-1675.
Allouez, Father Claude Jean, 1674-1688.
Gravier, Father Jacques, 1688-1695, 1698-1706.
Rale, Father Sébastien, 1691-1693.
Binneteau, Father Julien, 1696-1699.
Pinet, Father Pierre François, 1696-1697, 1700-1704.
Marest, Father Pierre Gabriel, 1698-1714.
Alexandre, Brother, 1699.
Limoges, Father Joseph de, 1699-1700.
Gillet, Brother, 1702.
Guibert, Brother Jean François, 1702-1712.
Le Boullenger, Father Jean Antoine (Jean Baptiste), 1703-1741.
Mermet, Father Jean, 1704-1716.
Ville, Father Jean Marie de, 1707-1720.
Guymonneau, Father Jean Charles (Gabriel), 1716-1736.
Beaubois, Father Nicholas Ignace de, 1720-1724.
Kereben, Father Joseph François de, 1725-1728.
Dumas, Father Jean, 1727-1740.
Outreleau, Father Etienne d', 1727-1728.
Tartarin, Father René, 1727-1730.
Senat, Father Antoine, 1734-1736.
Meurin, Father Sébastien Louis, 1742-1763, 1763-1777.
Magendie, Brother Charles, 1747-1756.
Watrin, Father Philibert, 1747-1764.
Fourré, Father Joseph Julien, 1749-1756.
Guyenne, Father Alexis (Alexandre) Xavier de, 1732-1756.
Vivier, Father Louis, 1739-1753.
Pernelle, Brother Julien, 1755-1761.
Aubert, Father Jean Baptiste, 1756-1764.
La Morinie, Father Jean Baptiste de, 1760 (or 1761)-1764.
Salleneuve, Father Jean Baptiste (François) de, 1761-1764.
Duvernai, Father Julien, 1763-1764.

[27] For the history of the founding of this mission see above, p. 117.

[28] Taschereau, "Mission du Seminaire de Quebec."

his activities in the Illinois but he was forced to return to Quebec for assistance, and in 1718 there were sent three relatively young men, Father Thaumur de la Source, Father Calvarin, and Father Mercier. The first returned in 1728 to Canada, where he died three years later. Father Mercier had a long and glorious career as a missionary, serving at Cahokia till his death, March 30, 1753. A military author at Fort de Chartres wrote of him: "He passed forty-five years in cultivating the Lord's vineyard of these distant countries. The savage nations have always respected him. A man of this character could not live too long for the welfare of these people."[29]

The church erected in the French village by the priests was long ago replaced by the ancient structure now standing in Cahokia, but besides the village church there was erected in about 1735 one for the Cahokia Indians in their village.

In addition to serving these two churches, the Seminary priests at times sent a missionary among the Missouri Indians. They also served the church of Ste. Anne at Fort de Chartres, thereby precipitating a long and heated dispute with the Jesuits. Until the opening of the fourth decade, the church of Ste. Anne was served by the Jesuit priest residing in the village of the Michigamea. When the inhabitants built their own church, the Jesuits declared that they had no one available to send there; consequently the citizens applied to the Seminary priests, who undertook to supply the need. Finally the Jesuits sent Father Guyenne, to whom the officiating priest refused to yield. The dispute thus begun lasted through the decade. Though the justice of the claim of the Jesuits was acknowledged by the official world, they finally yielded, and the parish of Ste. Anne was evidently served by the Seminary till the end of the French régime.[30] Since the chapel of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher was a mission of the parish of Ste. Anne, it also was under the

[29] Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales,* 1:138. Bossu apparently places his death in 1756, but Taschereau gives the exact date. Other fathers serving in the parish were Gaston, Courrier (died 1735), Gagnon, and Father Laurent, who, in 1739 was sent to Cahokia from Paris. In 1754 arrived Father François Forget Duverger, who was the last missionary sent out by the Seminary. Taschereau, "Mission du Seminaire de Quebec."

[30] Perier and Salmon to the minister, July 20, 1732, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 14:28; minister to Bienville, October 14, 1732, *ibid.,* B, 57:853 ff., and many others.

charge of the Seminary. The church at St. Philippe was very small, and may also have been a mission of Ste. Anne parish, though what its status was is not clear.

The priests of both orders belonged to the official class and were supposed to receive salaries from the provincial government. The Company of the Indies paid six hundred livres per year to each of the Jesuits and two hundred extra for five years to cover the expense of installing a new mission. This practice the royal government continued; but as the parishes grew in prosperity, the aid was gradually withdrawn. Kaskaskia soon became self-supporting. The salaries were never sufficient nor were they promptly and regularly paid by the Company of the Indies, and the outspoken Father Beaubois was exaggerating but little, if at all, when in 1729 he declared: "Up to the present the missionaries of the Illinois have cost it nothing."[31] The Seminary of Foreign Missions under a somewhat similar arrangement had continual difficulty in collecting its dues even from the royal government.

An idea of the expenses of the Illinois district may be gained from the records. The commandant received a salary of 1,200 livres and generally 1,000 livres "gratification" for the upkeep of the forts and other expenses, the principal civil officer was paid 1,000 livres, the guardian of the warehouse and the physician each a similar sum, and the interpreter 400 livres. The total expense of the district in 1723, in the time of Boisbriant, was about 59,000 livres; the next year the Company of the Indies estimated that by economies, especially by a reduction of the number of troops, this cost could be reduced to about 37,000 livres. It is probable that during the period of the Sieur de Liette the expenditures may have been kept within, or even below, that sum. With the inauguration of the government of Dartaguiette, after the company had resigned Louisiana to the king, the expenses rapidly mounted higher. A reckoning of October 19, 1744, placed the total expense of the Illinois, including the purchase of provisions, munitions, and merchandise, at 713,055 livres and the total receipts from the investment at 192,610 livres. In other words the government

[31] Company to the governor, October 27, 1727, and Beaubois to the company, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 11:79; 12:259 ff.

was losing approximately $100,000 on this experiment in colonization.[32]

This sum of money is not large, even when turned into its present day equivalent of about a million dollars; but it appeared large to many in France, since the population of the Illinois never grew rapidly and the development of the district never gave reason for much optimism. In June, 1723, a careful census of the population showed 196 white persons in Kaskaskia, 126 in Chartres village, and 12 in Cahokia — a total of 334 white men, women, and children. A census of January, 1732, enumerated 190 children, which would give a population of from 400 to 600, depending on what was meant by "children." Other estimates preserved are mere guesses until after the British occupied the Illinois. They took a census in 1767, after many French had crossed to St. Louis, and found 600 white men, women, and children in Kaskaskia, 25 families at Prairie du Rocher, 3 at Chartres village, 3 at St. Philippe, and 60 at Cahokia. Counting five to a family this would give about 1,055.[33] Counting soldiers and temporary residents in the villages probably the highest figure for the white population of the district in its most prosperous days should be placed at between fifteen hundred and two thousand. The number of Negro slaves was never large, for the royal government, after a few years of experiment, concluded that they were not economically profitable. The census of 1732 places their number at 165; later they may have numbered five or six hundred.[34]

The population of the Illinois was divided into two social classes, although the line of delimitation between them in this far-off region was not very distinct and apparently was easily

[32] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C 13A, 28:368.

[33] *Ibid.*, 8:226; Ministère des Colonies, *ibid.*, C1, volume 464; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 469. Captain Pittman, who was for several years with the British forces in the Illinois, writes that there were sixty-five families in Kaskaskia, twelve in Prairie du Rocher, forty houses in Chartres village, sixteen houses in St. Philippe, and forty-five houses in Cahokia. Allowing five members to a family this would make the population 890, not including visitors. *Present State of European Settlements* (ed. Hodder), 85. If there were only sixty-five families and 600 inhabitants at Kaskaskia, as the census of 1767 states, there should be reckoned about nine to a family, which would make the total population 1,602.

[34] The census report disproves the oft-repeated tradition of the importation of five hundred Negro slaves by Renault. The slaves were distributed in 1732 as follows: Kaskaskia, 102; Chartres village, 37; St. Philippe, 22; Cahokia, 4.

crossed in either direction. The upper class, or gentry, was composed of the officers of the garrison, the holders of large tracts of land, and the richer merchants. The majority of the people belonged to the lower order and were known as *habitants.*

In the Illinois country there was no development of a real seigniorial system such as was characteristic of New France. There were some large cessions, though none were made between the period of La Salle and Tonti and that of the establishment of the Mississippi Company. When the charter to that company was first issued, the French government had experimented with the seigniorial system in New France for a century and had reached the conclusion that it was a deterrent to settlement. In 1712, at the time of Crozat's trading grant, the cessions were "in full propriety" according to the model drawn up at Versailles. The government of the regency was particularly displeased with the operation of the seigniorial system and for several years refused, with the exception of a few unusual cases, to make even in Canada any more grants *en fief.*[35] The excitement of Law's speculations in Louisiana, however, caused a change of practice; and in 1723, and again in 1728, the official ban against seigniorial grants in Louisiana north of Manchac was withdrawn;[36] but none were ever made in the Illinois.

The form of cession used was that known as *en franc alleu,*[37] equivalent roughly to fee simple and the opposite of feudal. There were two varieties of this cession, one noble, the other *roturier;* the first conferred on its holder rank among the nobility, while the other was without this distinction. Since copies of only two large grants in the Illinois have been pre-

[35] For the time of Crozat see Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 34:163; this was repeated in 1716; *ibid.*, 42:42 ff. From 1715 to 1727 no cessions of seigniories were made in New France. Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada,* 47. This excellent work on the land system of Canada should be consulted by anyone interested in the subject. I have drawn freely from it for the following discussion.

[36] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 11:182 ff.; B, 43:789 ff. Article 15 reads as follows: "The said company can in the future concede lands in the Province and Colony of Louisiana above Manchac *en fief* and seigniory, with mean and low justice, conformably to the rules established by the *coutume de Paris,* and notwithstanding what is carried in the letters patents of August, 1717."

[37] In America generally spelled *aleu.*

served, in both of which occur the words "*en franc alleu*" without a limiting term, a doubt exists concerning the usage. In Canada the noble tenure was never granted to individuals, yet evidence indicates that it was the one usually granted in the Illinois.[38]

In spite of the prohibition of all cessions to the employees of the Mississippi Company, Commandant Boisbriant received on September 1, 1721, a cession of land a league square situated where Prairie du Rocher now stands. Sometime before 1734 this was transferred by Boisbriant to his nephew, Jean St. Therese Langlois, an officer of the troops, who was responsible for the establishment of the later village upon it.[39] At about the same time Lieutenant Melique received in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia a cession extending between the two rivers and measuring fourteen arpents[40] in frontage. Michel Chassin in 1722 was expecting to receive near Fort de Chartres a grant of twenty arpents in frontage and a league or more in depth. François Renault received large cessions *en franc alleu* on June 14, 1723: two at the mines on the western bank, one at Pimitoui on the Illinois river (a league in frontage and five leagues in depth), and one north of Fort de Chartres (one league by two); on the last was established his village of St. Philippe.[41]

The religious bodies also received their grants. The Jesuits petitioned for and received a large plantation at Kaskaskia as early as 1716; the record of it has been lost, but it was probably situated above the bluffs across the Kaskaskia

[38] Munro, *Seigniorial System in Canada*, 53. In a description of the cession at Cahokia, written in 1735, the author describes similar holders of land as "concessionaires or seigniors." In a letter of 1722, before the ban on seigniorial cession in Louisiana was lifted, the writer, Chassin, an official, describes his expected cession and expresses his hope that it is to be "*en franc aleu* and seigniorial title." The description of the Cahokia cession is in Laval University manuscripts; Chassin's letter is in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 6:297 ff. See also Viollet, *Histoire du Droit Civil Français*, 747.

[39] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 43:56; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2:183.

[40] The arpent as linear measure was equivalent to one hundred and eighty feet; as surface measure, about an acre.

[41] Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 77, 83; Breese, *Early History of Illinois* (ed. Hoyne), 177; in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2:190, the title of Renault is discussed at length. Renault's concessions were never registered in the company's archives; as an employee he had no right to receive such grants. On this point see Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 247:301.

river. On June 22, 1722, the Seminary of Foreign Missions received a cession *en franc alleu* of four leagues square, and on this there grew up the village of Cahokia.[42]

The land of the American Bottom not covered by these and similar cessions nor occupied by the Indians was reserved first by the Mississippi Company and then by the king, and was parceled out, as the concessionaires did with their land, to the lesser folk.

The tenure conceded by the larger concessionaires to the peasant farmers was termed *en censive* or *en roture*. In the New World the holders of such land were called *habitants*, in order to avoid the use of terms that had acquired a bad connotation in France. Between the two forms *en censive* and *en roture* there was in the colonies practically no distinction. The former name emphasized the fact that an annual due was to be paid, while the latter contrasted this form of holding with the noble one; but there is only slight evidence that any of the customary dues to the seigniors were ever collected in the Illinois. One of the priests of Cahokia, in describing in 1735 the manor of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, affirms that no concessionaire of the region demanded of his tenants the most typical dues, the *cens et rentes*.[43] Probably the *corvée*, or forced labor on roads and other utilities, was required. Whether or not the concessionaires were able to collect the banal rights is uncertain; in the Illinois these would be limited to compulsion to grind grain at the seignior's mill. Both the Jesuits and the Seminary priests early erected mills on their land, but there were many other mills, run by either water or horse power, in the villages; and it is improbable that this unpopular require-

[42] A copy of the cession is in Laval University manuscripts, where is also a map of it, made in 1735. See also *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2: 194. Besides the large cessions mentioned, there were others lying between Renault's grant at St. Philippe and Kaskaskia, but after the time of Boisbriant such large cessions were at least very uncommon.

[43] The *cens* was a moderate tax paid as a recognition of the seignior's rights; in Canada this was ordinarily "one sol for each arpent in front by forty in depth." The *rente* was a substantial rent for the land. The *lods et ventes* were due whenever the holding changed hands except by inheritance in direct line. In Canada the sum was fixed at one-twelfth of the selling price, of which the seignior generally remitted one-third. Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada*, 77 ff. Some indications of these usages in the Illinois will be found in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2: 183, 191.

ment was ever enforced. The rights of fishing and hunting — the usual prerogatives of seigniors — were reserved by royal decree for all inhabitants of the province of Louisiana.

As a matter of fact land could be acquired without any seigniorial burdens and without legal formalities. Though at Cahokia there were several cases of direct purchase by individuals from the Indians, the practice was not general in the Illinois, for the representatives of the government granted land freely, without formality, and without reservations, in the royal domains of Kaskaskia and Chartres villages. In these cases, the tenure was undoubtedly *en franc alleu roturier,* or its equivalent.[44] This corresponds roughly to free and common socage of English law.

All the lands of the Illinois, whatever their character, were subject to the payment of a tithe — one twenty-sixth of the produce of the farms — to the church.[45] The income from this source was not large, and the churches in the Illinois were assisted by gifts from the parishioners, from the king, and from well-wishers in France; but probably the most important income came from the careful husbandry of the land possessed by the religious orders for the support of their churches.

A most striking characteristic of the French communities in America was the manner of laying out their fields for cultivation. The houses of the settlers were clustered in a village, and their cultivated lands were laid out in long strips with only a few rods of frontage and with a lateral measure sometimes a mile or more long. The need of river communication had developed the system in Canada, and it was carried into the Mississippi valley. Thus the cultivated lands of Kaskaskia, technically known as the common fields, stretched like ribbons from the Mississippi to the village; individual possessions, separated

[44] The evidence points to such a practice. In the concessions preserved there is generally no definite mention of *cens et rentes* or of *lods et ventes,* as should be the case, if they were to be collected. Some cessions read "subject to the public charges," which may refer to *corvées,* church tithes, militia duties, and other governmental rights. In this conclusion I am supported by Mr. H. W. Roberts of Chester, who has for many years been manager of an abstract office, through which pass the titles of many of these French grants. A visitor to these villages in 1836, who made a careful study of conditions, writes that the *habitant* "possessed his lot in franc allieu [*sic*]—fee simple, subject to sale and transfer." Flagg, *The Far West,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* 27:46.

[45] Munro, *The Seigniorial System in Canada,* 185.

from each other by two furrows, varied from one hundred and eighty feet to five hundred and forty in frontage and contained from less than forty acres to one hundred and eighty-three, the latter being the amount held by the Jesuits within the village.[46]

Along the front of the common fields nearest the village stretched a common fence, each landowner being responsible for the part upon his strip. Where the fence crossed a road there was a gate attended by a decrepit slave. This fence separated the common fields from the commons, a possession of the community where the cattle and horses grazed and the pigs roamed at will. Each inhabitant had his particular mark for his animals registered with the clerk of the court.[47]

The title to the lands possessed by the villagers of Kaskaskia dated from the year 1719, up to which time the inhabitants had been only squatters. This condition was corrected by Commandant Boisbriant, who laid out two tracts, the *grand quarré,* or common fields, and the commons; the latter consisted of several tracts, the largest lying across the Kaskaskia above the bluffs, a smaller one on the Mississippi, and another consisting of the islands in that river. Since these concessions were not confirmed by the Mississippi Company, a petition was drawn up by the people in 1727 asking for the confirmation, which was also urged by the Sieur de Liette, the commandant.[48] The common fields of Cahokia were ceded by the Seminary of Foreign Missions, those of St. Philippe by Renault, those of Chartres village by the government on January 23, 1745, and those of Prairie du Rocher by the same on May 7, 1743.[49]

The French government always insisted that the welfare of the district of the Illinois depended on its agriculture, and every encouragement was given the settlers to develop the land. To a limited extent the effort was successful, but the

[46] See maps of the commons of the villages in *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 2: 182, and on other pages.

[47] Among the Kaskaskia manuscripts is a list of such marks.

[48] A search of the archives in Paris has failed to discover copies of either concessions or petitions. Breese, *Early History of Illinois* (ed. Hoyne), 286 ff., has preserved a translation of the petition of 1727 and a confirmation of a further cession in 1743. He found copies of these in the Kaskaskia manuscripts, which he designated "the lumber of a county" recorder's office. *Ibid.,* 217.

[49] *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 2: 183, 186.

population was small and the people were never expert farmers. The returns never realized the hopes of the government. Better methods undoubtedly would have increased the output. In the case of the larger landholders, the work was poorly performed by Negro or Indian slaves. The use of manure was certainly not common, and the farm tools were of the crudest character. The plow was wooden, except a small piece of iron attached to the point of the implement with rawhide.[50] The only vehicle used by the *habitants* was a cart built like a box and placed on two wheels without tires. In making their harness they used rawhide; tanned leather was almost unknown. The common beasts of burden were oxen which were "connected not by a yoke, but by a strong wooden bar, well secured to the horns by strips of untanned hide, and guided by a rope of the same material. If horses were used, they were driven tandem and controlled entirely by the whip and voice, without any ropes and reins."[51] Opportunity for individual initiative and experiment was limited by the common fields system. All the farmers must plow, plant, cultivate, and harvest at the same time and in the same way; the time was fixed by the village assembly and by hoary custom.

The most important crop was wheat, its cultivation having been early introduced by the Jesuits. The spring variety was used exclusively, since the cattle were turned into the common fields during the winter. There was shipped to the New Orleans market in 1732 two thousand hundredweight, and in 1740 six thousand; the amount reached an even higher figure in later years. Lower Louisiana always counted on large supplies from the upper district and in 1745, when a hurricane ruined the product of the local farms, was actually saved from starvation by the Illinois crop.[52]

Oats, hemp hops, and some tobacco were cultivated. Corn was not raised extensively and was used for the stock, since the French did not customarily use it for bread. Vegetables were grown in the gardens near the houses; here were to be found

[50] Reynolds, *My Own Times* (2nd ed.), 23.
[51] Breese, *Early History of Illinois* (ed. Hoyne), 196.
[52] Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana*, 289, 291 ff.; Vaudreuil to the minister, April 12, 1746, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C^{13}A, 30: 57.

melons, potatoes, and squashes; and to the house yard were confined also the fruit trees — apple, peach, and pear.

The cattle came from Canada and were a hardy race, though not large. Dairying was not developed to any extent. Churns were not used at all, the small amount of butter required being made by shaking the cream in a bottle. Hogs in large numbers roamed the forests. The horses were from the Spanish colonies, and large numbers were always to be found running wild on the commons.

There was always enough game in the vicinity not only to supply meat for the population but also for export to the New Orleans market. Both white men and Indians hunted for game as well as for furs. Products of the gun which found a market in the south were bears' meat and grease, venison, hides, and buffalo wool. There were repeated attempts to create a market for the last-named article, but it never proved valuable in the French mills. Still hopes were ever buoyant, and several efforts were made to domesticate the "wild cattle" for their wool.

The story of the beginning of lead mining in the Illinois has been told on a previous page.[53] Renault, who was the first to inaugurate mining on a relatively large scale, sold out his holdings to the government in 1744 and returned to France;[54] but work in his mines never ceased, and, in spite of warnings of the French government, other mines were opened, the Galena district receiving particular attention. Still the mines on the west banks of the Mississippi remained throughout the French régime the principal source of the lead supply, and Ste. Genevieve thrived accordingly. The process of extracting the lead was crude, and it was reported by a British officer in 1766 that the French did not have men enough to exploit the mines to their capacity.[55]

The business that rivaled agriculture in the Illinois was trade with the Indians, and this meant chiefly the fur trade. After various attempts to regulate this business in the northern

[53] See above, p. 154.

[54] Minister to Vaudreuil, January 1, 1744, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 78:6 ff.; *ibid.*, C[13]A, 26:11.

[55] For an account of the process see Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*, 274.

province,[56] the French government sought a way out of its difficulties by leasing the trade at the various posts. While this monopolistic method relieved the government of many annoyances, it called forth many complaints from the Indians. The failure of Crozat's monopoly of the trade in Louisiana taught a salutary lesson, and thereafter the tendency was to leave the trade of the southern province free. The Mississippi Company naturally exercised some control; in 1720 an ordinance was issued prohibiting individuals from carrying on trade with the Indians on the land of the company without permission from the commandant; the excuse for this regulation was that traders encouraged intertribal wars for the purpose of obtaining Indian captives as slaves.[57] That Commandant Boisbriant freely granted trading permits is proved by the complaints of Canadian officials that his action in doing so prevented them from correcting the abuses of the *coureurs de bois*.[58]

The company limited the freedom of trade somewhat in 1728 by granting to two Canadians, Marian and Outlas, the exclusive trade for five years on the Missouri and the Wabash (probably meaning the Ohio) rivers, beginning January 1, 1729. They were obliged "to deliver to the warehouse of New Orleans all the peltries, and if they dispose of them otherwise they shall be deprived of their privilege." The prices were fixed.[59] For operating purposes there were advanced to the concessionaires two thousand livres. All trade at the posts of the Illinois, exclusive of the territory designated, was declared free.

When the province was retroceded to the king, the trade was unrestrained; and the commandants of the Illinois were empowered to grant licenses even to the Canadians, who

[56] See above, p. 71 ff., 105 ff.

[57] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 42^{bis}: 391.

[58] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 437.

[59] For dry beavers, 34 sols a pound; green beavers, 60; deerskins at 30, those weighing less than three-quarters of a pound to be rejected, those weighing more than two to be taken only at the established rate; raccoons at 15 sols; wood wolves at 50; foxes and brown lynx at 40; large bearskins at 5 livres, ordinary ones at 3 livres; large and black otter at 4 livres. Archives Nationales, Colonies, $C^{13}A$, 11: 129 ff., 154. The sol is the modern sou, or one-twentieth of a franc or livre, and is equivalent to about a cent.

carried much of the Illinois trade to Detroit. This freedom of trade in the district was the cause of complaints from the men who had paid for monopoly leases of the posts of New France.[60] On the whole, however, matters appear to have become adjusted so that the Illinois river became a common meeting ground, the Canadians confined their principal operations above the river, and the Illinois French, agents for the most part of New Orleans merchants, pursued their calling in the territory from that river southward and in the Missouri valley.[61]

The search for furs led the Illinois traders far afield. The Missouri river was explored to the northward. A further incentive was the hope of reaching Santa Fe and entering upon the profitable Spanish trade. This goal was attained in July, 1739, by Pierre and Paul Mallet and six companions, who followed the south fork of the Platte river and then struck southward through modern Colorado. Thus while the gallant Sieur de la Verendrie and his sons of New France were discovering Lake Winnipeg and the upper Missouri, and were reaching out toward the mountains, their compatriots of the Illinois were exploring the southern spurs of the Rockies.[62]

While most of the products of the Illinois were conveyed downstream to the easily accessible New Orleans market, it was found very unsatisfactory to ship the furs there, because the heat spoiled a large part of them. The connection with the north, therefore, was never broken;[63] the posts on the Great Lakes, Detroit and Mackinac, continued to be the emporiums of this trade.

Most of the merchandise brought for sale to the Illinois came from the south. The established advance in price was a hundred per cent increase over the cost price in France. At a sale in Kaskaskia the following prices were paid: breeches 6 to 7 livres, sheepskin jackets 11 to 16, skirts 22 to 29, tables

[60] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 57:855; memoir of La Galissonière, September 1, 1748, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:498. See also *ibid.*, 409.

[61] See General Gage's statement in Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, 72.

[62] Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 6:455 ff. This exploit led to an official expedition, which failed.

[63] Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 70 ff.; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:15.

20 to 25, chairs 2 to 3, axes 10, iron stoves 30. Bulls brought at that time 60 to 80 livres, cows 30 to 100, hogs five to six months old 7 to 8, and horses about 300.[64]

In small purchases made among the people the beaver was commonly used as a measure of value, but other furs passed as currency at a price fixed in relation to this most esteemed pelt. Some such small change was required, for it was found almost impossible to keep specie in the colonies, although much was shipped from France and large quantities of Spanish coins found their way to the Mississippi valley by means of a clandestine trade which could not be prevented.

For lack of specie, paper money was utilized in the form of bills of exchange, treasury notes, orders on the storehouse, contracts between individuals or between individuals and the company, royal notes, and card money. The orders on the storehouse were issued to employees or to depositors of furs and other products and regularly passed as currency. The practice resulted in so much forgery and so many other abuses that it was ordered stopped and was replaced by the use of card money, which was drawn by one official and signed, registered, and numbered by another. When received by the guardian of the warehouse it was supposed to be retired. Speculation in such money, the constantly changing orders of the government, and the dishonesty of officials, created conditions of financial chaos, and eventually brought the colonial administration to the verge of bankruptcy.[65]

The river craft plying the trade between the Illinois and New Orleans were of three kinds: birch-bark canoes, pirogues, and bateaux. Birch-bark canoes were used least of all on account of the danger from snags; as there were no portages their light weight was of no advantage. The pirogues, made by hollowing trunks of trees, although heavy and unfitted for sails, were in more general use. It was the regular practice for merchants traveling the Maumee-Wabash portage from

[64] Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana,* 291, 300, note 6, 302, note. In the thirties flour cost the settlers two sols a pound, hams four livres each, tobacco two livres a pound, and brandy five livres a pot.

[65] This account of the currency has been drawn from Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana,* 8 ff. See also Thompson, "Monetary System of Nouvelle France," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal,* 4: 146 ff.

Canada to substitute these heavier craft for the canoes as soon as Ouiatenon was reached.

The convoys of the Illinois were first composed entirely of pirogues, but these were easy prey for the Indians and the loss of goods from capsizing was also considerable. In 1732 the governor recommended that two "demi galleys," or large bateaux, be constructed for the Mississippi traffic;[66] the next year he reported that he had had built of live oak a boat of sixteen tons' burden, forty-three feet long by nine feet wide, covered to protect the merchandise from storms. From that time the convoys were regularly made up with a fair proportion of these larger craft. Some of these were of twenty tons' burden; so far as practicable they were propelled by sails but most of the way by oars. Warping and poling, so commonly practiced in later years, seem not to have been tried by the French.

The first convoy of the year usually left New Orleans in late winter or early spring, and the second, in August. When the water was low, as in summer, the boats were obliged on account of the current to utilize every stretch of backwater formed by the numerous bends of the river; but "when the river is high and overflows its Banks," writes an observer, "the Distance is lessened, and the Water does not run with such Rapidity as when lower and narrower."[67] Going against the current was under any circumstances hard and laborious work and consumed at least "70 odd day," and generally much longer, three months being estimated as the usual length of time. The voyage down was naturally less of a hardship and much more rapid. In 1732 six pirogues made the trip in thirteen days, and in 1749 some bateaux, in twelve days. The spring convoy was expected to arrive at New Orleans the last of April or the first of May.

Besides the royal convoys, private boats were constantly passing up and down the river; sometimes several merchants would combine for protection, making up a good-sized fleet. The royal convoys, however, guarded as they were by soldiers commanded by an officer of the marine, were the safer and

[66] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 14:47.
[67] Gordon's journal, in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 302.

therefore merchants preferred to ship their merchandise in them or at least to place their own boats under the command of the convoy captain, a position that gave ample opportunity for graft. In 1750 Montchervaux, who was in charge of a convoy, was detected charging the government with the transportation of merchandise owned by private traders. It was then proposed to contract with individual merchants to carry the royal supplies, the king still furnishing the escort of troops; but this was found to be impracticable. A saving of expense, however, was made by reducing the number of royal bateaux in the convoy from six or eight to four.[68]

The dangers of the passage up and down were very great. The river was full of snags, the banks were constantly caving in, landing on the high banks for the night's rest was most difficult, and, during the Indian wars, the danger from the natives was constant. Boats were attacked with great frequency by the Chickasaw, the Natchez, and the Cherokee; and accounts of loss were all too familiar.

The journey to Canada was made with as great frequency as was that to New Orleans, but generally on private enterprises. The trip consumed a number of weeks. There is a record of an official message that was sent from New Orleans on February 19, 1759, and arrived at Montreal on May 25, being *en route* ninety-five days.[69]

Travel was not always by water. At a very early period a road was built to connect the villages of the Illinois. It ran along the American Bottom from Kaskaskia to St. Philippe, where it branched, one road continuing along the flat land to Cahokia, the other skirting along the top of the bluffs to the same place. From this cluster of villages roads ran in many directions. The French found on the prairies the trails of the Indians and the well-beaten tracks of the buffaloes, wide enough for two wagons to pass. These the government gradually developed; one ran from Cahokia to Peoria and from there to Galena; another ran to the mouth of the Tennessee; there was also a well-worn road connecting Peoria and Detroit.[70]

[68] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 91:8, 13; C[13]A, 35:9; 38:103.
[69] Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 102.
[70] Surrey, *The Commerce of Louisiana*, 82 ff.

The banks of the Kaskaskia river offered a safe harbor for boats; and a short walk brought the traveler to the village of the same name, which may be taken as the type of the others scattered along the shore of the Mississippi river. In the center lay a large grass covered square with streets leading from it. Here were situated the church and picketed fort, the refuge in case of attack by the Indians. The streets were laid out in blocks "about three hundred feet square, and each block contained four lots. The streets were rather narrow, but always at rights angles."[71]

The village presented to the visitor a peaceful and orderly appearance, with an air of permanency unusual on the frontier. Many of the houses were made of stone quarried from the bluffs, but most of them were constructed of upright hewn logs with concave sides, which, when placed side by side, formed a rounded space which was filled with clay, straw, and stones. The whole was built without the use of iron. The better wooden houses were constructed with uprights set several feet apart and the interstices were filled with horizontal puncheons, made air-tight with a composition of clay and straw. A pointed roof, thatched or bark, extending over the porch or "gallery" completed the structure.[72] Most of the houses were only a story and a half, but some possessed a full second story. At one end of the building, and sometimes at both ends, was the large chimney of the generous fireplace. The houses stood close to the street for sociability's sake, and the yard around was protected by a whitewashed picket fence, within which were a flower garden, a small orchard of fruit trees, a vegetable garden, the slaves' cabins, and a barn.

Many of the Frenchmen lived exceedingly comfortably. One of the richest households in Kaskaskia was that of the Jesuits, who owned a wooden house one hundred and twenty feet long, another building not named but divided "into many low apartments," Negro cabins, cow sheds, a barn, a stable, a weaving room, a mill run by horse power, and a dovecote.[73]

[71] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (ed. 1887), 50.

[72] See illustration opposite.

[73] Taken from the sale of the property, in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 126; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 327.

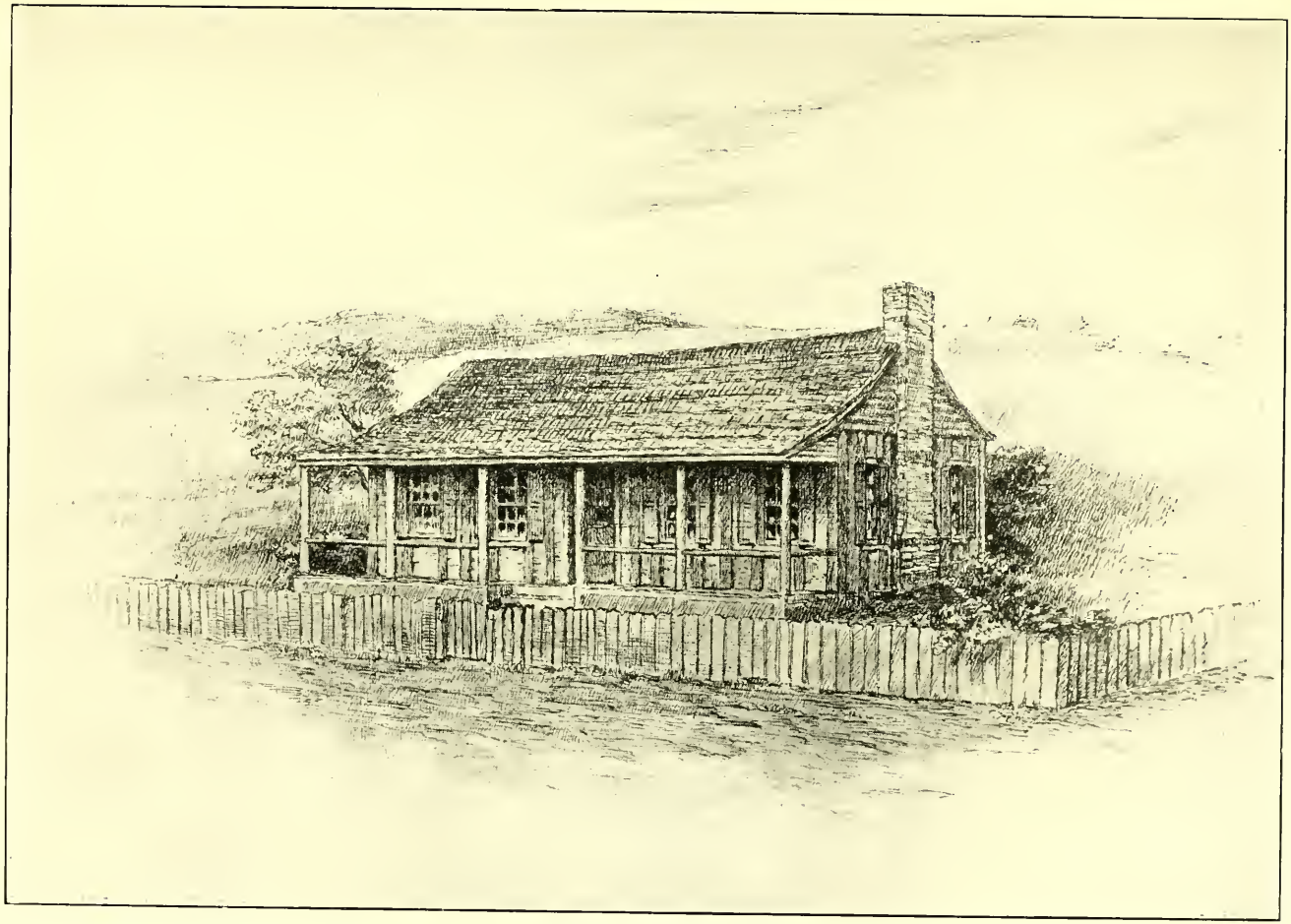
They were served by sixty-eight Negroes trained as farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, brewers, and masons. Besides their farm land on the common fields and their rights in the commons they owned a large farm above the bluffs across the Kaskaskia river. There were, however, private families as well, and perhaps better, off. In 1765 a member of the Bauvais family owned eighty slaves. He furnished to the royal magazine eighty-six thousandweight of flour, which was only a part of one year's harvest.

On entering the home of one of the wealthier people, the visitor found himself in a hall extending from front to back, and this was flanked by rooms. The houses were relatively well furnished; small services of plate were displayed on the sideboards. Religious pictures and French mirrors with gilt frames hung on the walls; and a few possessed billiard tables. The dwellings of the *habitants,* on the other hand, were poorly equipped and resembled those of the American pioneers, the furniture being frequently handmade. The French colonists had the reputation of being rather slovenly housekeepers. The American pioneers in Vincennes said of them: "The women can neither sew, nor spin, nor make butter; but spend their time in gossipping, and leave their houses dirty and in disorder."[74]

In dress there was a distinction between the officers, the well-to-do traders, and the *habitants.* The officers dressed, as has already been indicated, like the French military gentlemen of the day; the costume of the trader may be inferred from the evidence of the numerous settlements of estates drawn up by the notary-clerk and preserved in the Kaskaskia manuscripts. The items indicate a luxury of raiment that is surprising; richly trimmed coats, embroidered waistcoats with "diamond" buttons, silken hose, and silver buckles. The relatively wealthy, both men and women, imitated, so far as possible, the styles of Paris as they were passed up the river from New Orleans.

The costumes of the *habitants* were less rich and more unchanging. "For clothing," writes an observer of a later day,[75] "the cotton plant furnished its fibre, and the warm Mackinaw

[74] Volney, *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States,* 372.
[75] Breese, *Early History of Illinois* (ed. Hoyne), 198.



TYPICAL FRENCH HOUSE
[From collection of the late Pierre Chouteau, St. Louis]

blanket the indispensable *capot,* with a blue cloth hood for winter wear, and the skins of the deer dressed in the Indian manner for trousers and moccasins. Thus appareled, and with a short clay pipe burnt to an ebony color by constant use, wending his way to gossip with his neighbor, or by his own ingle, you have a picture of a colonial subject of the Grand Monarche." The shirt worn was of colored cotton; the trousers were held by a belt or sash; on social occasions the latter was liberally ornamented with beads and "spread widely over the body outside the coat and tied behind, the ends hanging down two feet or more."[76] In summer no coat was worn and the feet were bare. Over the head was invariably worn a colored handkerchief. The *voyageur* wore a leather ruffled shirt and on his head a brightly colored cap with a tassel hanging over one side. Gay rogues they were, fond of wine, women and song.

The colonists did no spinning or weaving and were therefore dependent on the traders for their goods. The women of the lower class wore short overskirts reaching to the knees, below which was a long petticoat. Like the men, they commonly wore moccasins. A large straw hat of home manufacture completed the costume; in winter they had fur hats or bonnets.

The better classes were educated to the same extent as were their contemporaries in France, and the lower classes were, for the most part, illiterate. Volney found that in Vincennes in 1796 six out of nine could neither read nor write.[77]

It is difficult to characterize the French colonists with any assurance of truth. The disorder and licentiousness of a frontier community, whether of French, Spanish, or British stock, have always made a deep impression on the visitor from more settled communities; and in a general condemnation the members of the official class have readily joined, since it excused their incapacity to maintain order. The French villagers have experienced this universal condemnation. Their rulers and their priests have described them frequently as banditti, and the

[76] Hubbard, "The Early Colonization of Detroit," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 1:359.

[77] Volney, *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States,* 332.

British officers from whose letters more frequent descriptions have been preserved have joined in the chorus.[78]

These French of the border were not saints; the sins of similar communities were here common. They indulged in heavy drinking, as did all pioneer communities and contemporary society in general. A French official wrote in 1737 that the inhabitants of the Illinois were burdened by debts as a result of their excessive drinking and gambling.[79] Besides the imported liquor, the colonists had a wine which they made from the wild grapes; their efforts to cultivate the European grape in the Illinois failed. The records of their courts, however, do not reveal an excessive amount of crime among the settlers. In fact, the French were rather lovers of peace and order and rushed readily to the judge to have their disputes adjusted. Many accusations of craftiness disguised under forms of entertainment and flattery have been made. These can certainly be discounted. The citizens of France have always been thrifty and capable of protecting themselves in trade, and in this respect they do not deserve a worse reputation than do people of other nations.

The people in general led a light-hearted, easy-going life. The Sunday evening dance was attended by all, old and young, well-to-do and poor. Even the priest dropped in during the early evening. Every description of these festive occasions proclaims the good behavior and bonhomie that prevailed. They joined enthusiastically in the church festivals, of which there were many, too many for the welfare of the farms, some people complained. Mardi Gras was unusually popular; the evening was passed at one of the larger houses, where a rivalry in flopping pancakes took place, after which there was dancing. On New Year's Day calls were made, when it was customary for the hostess to present her cheek to the departing guests for a good-bye kiss. Even the charivari was good-natured fun and had not degenerated to the vulgar exhibition of later times. They played cards incessantly — not always for money — and it

[78] There are good examples in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 228, and in Volney, *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States*, 372 ff.

[79] Salmon to the minister, June 22, 1737, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 22:192 ff.

was usual to see them seated on the gallery engaged in this pastime.

When the *voyageurs* returned to their village there was always a warm welcome for them, much drinking, and merry-making mingled with some lawlessness, for the *voyageurs* were the most reckless class of the communities; but in the French villages there existed a restraining force before which even the worst elements of the population bowed. Civilization as it existed in France was represented by the officials and the priests who were always present to maintain Old World ways. The colonists, therefore, never freed themselves from the ages-old conventions. After the free life of the wilderness where they lived like the natives, they returned to homes where the church was respected, the law courts obeyed, the notary a necessary and respected visitor. Unlike their contemporaries of the British colonies, the French changed very little in character; there never took place within them a complete readjustment of social values and the development of a democratic conception of social justice; the old régime had set an indelible mark on the souls of these French villagers on the Mississippi.

How far the state and the church were able to influence the lives of the people is well illustrated in the matter of marriages with the Indian women. In the early years of the French occupation Indian marriages between the *coureurs de bois* and the squaws were very common, and under the influence of the Jesuits these were generally changed to sanctioned relations; the population of Kaskaskia during the first two decades of the eighteenth century was composed almost exclusively of these hybrid families. It was a period when the government believed that the best solution of the Indian problem was to be sought in the gradual absorption of the natives by the white population. But after some years of experiment, it was observed that the half-breed children were more depraved than their parents; in the contest for survival the wilder blood was predominating.

Fully convinced of the inherent evil in the practice, the government in October, 1735, prohibited the priests in the future from solemnizing such marriages without the consent of the commandant. The policy was not acceptable to the Jesuits;

at least a memoir of 1738 emanating from them pointed out the evils that would result. In the end, however, they submitted; many years later a Jesuit, Father Meurin, declared that only a few marriages between white men and Indian women had been performed and these only with the consent of the commandant.[80] Naturally the prohibition of marriage did not prevent the continuance of unsanctified relations with Indian women, and the number of illegitimate children in the villages was always relatively large.[81]

The majority of the officers and soldiers stationed in the Illinois had come from France to Louisiana and by boat up the Mississippi. On the other hand, the inhabitants, as their names prove, were mostly wanderers from New France. The northern French colony had been populated, for the most part, by immigrants from the province of Normandy, and in the Illinois country the language, habits, and traditions of the people must have long given evidence of their Norman origin.

It is a commonplace to speak of French colonial communities as ruled by a centralized government in which they had no participation; but this does not present a true picture. In the effort of the Bourbon kings to draw to themselves all lines of power in the French state, they found themselves blocked by the immobile traditions of the lowest organ of society, the village community. The social and legal life of the villages with roots buried in the far distant past was so much a part of the life of the plain people that it maintained itself unaltered, generally speaking, through the changing conditions of the society above it. It was to this class of communities that the French villages of the Illinois belonged.[82]

In 1659 French villages were declared minors under the guardianship of the king. They were forbidden to alienate their property or to borrow money without his permission. The edict brought with it the benefits and the evils of centraliza-

[80] Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 62:88. For the interesting memoir of the Jesuits, see *ibid.*, C[13]A, 23:241 ff.

[81] The women were for the most part slaves captured from the Missouri tribes. Dartaguiette made an unavailing but earnest attempt to stop the trade in Missouri women, whereas the Jesuits charged La Buissonnière with an indifference to the evident laxity of morals among the officers under him.

[82] The best account of French villages is contained in Babeau, *Le Village sous l'ancien Régime*. See particularly chapter 1.

tion. The monarchy lessened the authority of the seigniors, released the villages from the oppression of local judges, and gave them an administration less costly; but it brought other burdens — the universal militia service, severer *corvées,* and larger taxes. Nevertheless the villages had obtained a truly legal position and had retained many of their privileges. While these small communities never acquired the right of electing magistrates and judges, it was common in northern France for each of them to elect a civil agent or syndic to represent it in lawsuits.

The Catholic church recognized the legal existence of these communities by confiding to them the partial upkeep of the church and the administration of the church property. For this purpose the parishioners elected the *marguilliers* (church wardens), who were obliged to report to the villagers all expenses; the corporation of the church became thus a village institution, and the *marguilliers* became agents of the community just as the syndic was.

In each of the villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia and probably at New Chartres, both syndic and *marguilliers* were elected and functioned with apparent regularity. Their authority came from the people and to the people they were obliged to report. For this purpose assemblies were held after mass before the church door, where auctions and other functions of a public character took place. If the question before the community concerned the church, the priest presided; if it concerned the business side of the community, the syndic. All males over fourteen were expected to attend, and there is some evidence that widows also had a vote.

The assembly was deliberative and administrative, electing officers, deciding the time of plowing, harvesting, and all matters affecting the crops, and taking action on the questions of repair or building of churches and the upkeep of roads and fences. All acts passed by the assembly were recorded by the judge, his clerk or notary. It naturally fell within the province of the syndic to oversee the execution of the decisions affecting his department, and his duties therefore possessed something of an administrative character.

One public duty performed by all men of the Illinois, unless

they held military commissions or were soldiers of the marine, was militia service. The story of the first organization of the militia, on May 9, 1723, is told by Diron Dartaguiette, who writes: "I called together all the inhabitants of this village [Kaskaskia] to whom I said that I had an order from the King to form a company of militia for the purpose of putting them in a position to defend themselves with greater facility against the incursions which the Indians, our enemies, might attempt, so I formed a company, after having selected four of the most worthy among them to put at the head. This company being under arms, I passed it in review the same day."[83] The organization was still further improved by Pierre Dartaguiette, in accordance with special instructions. As the settlements grew, each village maintained its own company.

The captain of militia was the principal citizen of his village and by his position exercised an influence over its destinies. As militia captain he was the representative of the major commandant and represented the government in the work performed by the villagers on the roads; but he also represented the judge and put in execution his judgments. In case of disorder the subject first came before him; he seems to have performed functions somewhat analogous to those of an English justice of the peace.

Three villages of the Illinois Indians lay in close proximity to the French settlements: that of the Kaskaskia close to Kaskaskia; that of the Michigamea and Kaskaskia near Chartres village; and that of the Cahokia and Tamaroa just outside Cahokia. When the French first came to the American Bottom the two last named tribes formed two villages, which were soon united; and during the Fox war some of the Peoria left their seats on the Illinois river to dwell in comparative safety with their kinsmen, the Cahokia.

The nearness of these Indian villages gave rise to considerable friction between the two peoples. The innumerable dogs of the Indians were a nuisance, their cattle were always straying into the cultivated fields of the white men, and the latter's cattle were continually destroying the Indians' crops. Personal

[83] Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 76.

encounters accordingly were frequent. The French government realized the impossibility of preventing such friction so long as the villages were close together, and in the thirties an unavailing effort was made to move the Indians to sites several miles away on the prairies above the bluffs.

One cause of the Indians' resentment was always present. They had permitted the first white men to settle among them without raising the issue of their titles to land; but after it became evident that the government intended to create here a populous settlement and gave proof of its intention by making large cessions of land to the inhabitants without consulting the natives, then the Indians began to feel resentful and demanded payment for their land, which was refused.[84]

The influence of continuous association of the Indians with white men was baneful. Liquor and disease performed their work rapidly. The once proud Illinois who had been able to contend on equal terms with the Winnebago and the Iroquois were reduced by 1748 to between thirty and thirty-five hundred men, women, and children; and these were described by their neighbors as drunken, lazy sots, afraid to go to war.[85]

The number of Indians held as slaves was not large, and they came generally from the western bank of the Mississippi. The census taker of 1731 found fifty-five men and sixty-two women in this condition. The number decreased in the course of time, for they were found to be an unprofitable investment; also the French government became convinced that it was unwise to humiliate the natives in this way.

The results of the labors of the missionaries among the natives at first gave rise to great optimism. The Illinois Indians were a docile and gentle race and listened gladly to the strange teachings of the fathers. By 1712 it was asserted by

[84] Chief Chicagou, when in Paris, begged the French not to drive his people from their land, and Governor Bienville in 1733 noticed that the demand of payment for cessions already made manifested the discontent of the savages. Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 16:225 ff.

[85] Estimates of the number of the Illinois differ and are difficult to interpret, for one never knows whether or not the Peoria are included. A memoir of 1718 speaks of four hundred warriors at Starved Rock. *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 16:373. Bougainville, whose estimates are padded, assigns in 1757 four hundred to the Kaskaskia alone. *Ibid.,* 18:177. A memoir on Louisiana gives the number of Illinois warriors as four hundred. Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 30:258.

both missionaries and other observers that practically all had accepted christianity, meaning, of course, so far as a primitive people could; but a careful observer, Diron Dartaguiette, wrote in 1723: "The Jesuit fathers, who have for more than thirty years been among them, have up to the present failed in their attempts to make them understand that God made himself man and died for us."[86] Yet a soldier who visited the village was quite enthusiastic over the changes manifested. "The savages attend mass and vespers regularly and seem to enjoy the worship. They chant alternatively a couplet with the French who dwell among them: for example, the Illinois a couplet of a psalm or hymn in their language and the French the following couplet in Latin."[87] So fond were they of instruction and confession that they wearied the fathers with their insistence.

The Indian habits were altered in many ways under the instruction of these pious men. Most of the medicine men of the Kaskaskia and Cahokia tribes were driven out; the Indians abandoned somewhat such barbarous customs of war as torture. They had been taught the use of the plough, and the women had learned to make from cloth woven of the hair of the buffalo long dresses cut like the dressing gowns of the French ladies, to the neck of which they sewed a cap for the head; underneath this they wore a petticoat and a bodice, a meticulosity reserved for attendance at church; on other occasions the description of their costume preserved by the pen of Father Marest was correct: "They [the men] wear only a girdle, the rest of the body being wholly bare; as for the women, they, in addition, cover the bosom with a deer-skin."[88]

[86] Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 71.

[87] "Relation de Pénicaut," in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:491. Consult also the fuller account of Marest in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:231 ff.

[88] The description of the costume is given by Pénicaut in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements*, 5:490. Father Marest does not agree with Pénicaut. He writes: "They [the Illinois Indian women] envelop the body in a large skin, or rather, they are dressed in a robe made of several skins sewed together." He does say that they worked up the buffalo hair into "leggings, girdles, and bags." Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 66:229, 231.

XI. THE GREAT DECISION

THE peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 settled the conscious issues of the war — Old World issues they were; but an issue of world wide significance, the dominion of western America, arose almost before the signatures had dried on the peace document. The peace conference in its ignorance passed over the issue as a minor matter that could be settled in a leisurely fashion by a joint commission sitting in Europe. The commissioners met and filled reams of paper with their cogitations about unfamiliar subjects; but while they were talking and writing, a gage of battle had been thrown down and picked up in the valley darkened by the western shadows of the Alleghenies.

In the long struggle for the west, New York fur traders had been striking at the Great Lakes by way of the Mohawk valley, and Carolinians had been circling around the southern end of the Appalachians in an effort to drive the French from the southern valley. At both points France had been able to muster easily the full force of its colonial strength and had maintained its dominion, thus justifying the concentration and autocracy of its colonial administration when exercised over a sparse population. These northern and southern points of attack were still to be scenes of fierce combat, but a new center had gradually become increasingly important.

The upper Ohio valley had been till the middle of the eighteenth century neglected by both sides. The French held the western end; its eastern part they claimed by right of discovery but had left unoccupied. The British also had staked out the upper Ohio basin, partly by their sea-to-sea charters, partly by discovery, partly by treaty with the Iroquois; but they had made few efforts to exploit it. This condition was suddenly changed by the appearance of traders and settlers in large numbers in the river valley. The principal army of invasion was recruited in the colonies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Mary-

land; and it followed routes leading from the numerous branches of mid-colonial rivers to the forks of the Ohio, "the gateway to the west." The goal was the Ohio valley, the very center of the French colonial system. Here at its weakest and most vulnerable point, separated by long stretches of water and wilderness from the administrative machinery of the French colonies, French autocracy had to stand battle with the forces of individualism, embodied in the persons of numberless pioneers, and aided by the full force of British imperialism.

The direct occasion of the conflict was an attempt on the part of some colonial speculators to establish a settlement west of the mountains. The colonists — English, Scotch-Irish, and German — had already pushed their villages up to the eastern slopes of the mountains.[1] Lands had rapidly grown valuable; speculation on a large scale became the popular get-rich-quick method of the period, rivaling the old-time fur trade. With such active speculation and settlement, newcomers were forced to cross the mountain divide in search of homes or of new fields wherein to employ their shrewdness.

In the matter of land speculation Virginia led the way, Maryland followed, while Pennsylvania seemed to divide its interest fairly equally between the fur trade and land. In 1744 commissioners of these three colonies met the chieftains of the Iroquois confederacy at Lancaster and secured from them a large cession of land extending from the back of the Virginia settlement to the Ohio river. It was the first vital move by the British to open up the ultramontane territory to colonization.[2]

Three years later the Ohio Company was founded in Virginia, with connections with men of means in England; in 1748 it received a large grant of Ohio valley land on condition that a settlement and a fort be established at once. From now on this company, together with other companies and individuals who followed its example, became the driving power behind the western movement. Acting in accordance with its charter, the company in 1750 sent out an expedition under Christopher Gist to survey the country; his report was favorable and he

[1] Turner, "The Old West," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 184 ff. I have followed in this chapter the same policy in referring to documents from the archives in Paris as in the previous chapters.

[2] Colden, *Five Nations*, 2: 117 ff.

found the natives "very well affected toward the English and fond of their alliance with them."[3]

The British maneuvers were watched with anxiety by French officials. The events at the close of the last war had opened their eyes to the seriousness of the situation; the threatened establishment of settlements called for action. In 1749 France opened, formally and rather pompously, the last struggle for the Mississippi valley. Canada being directly and immediately affected by the new British advance, its capable governor, the Comte de la Galissonière, decided to send to the threatened region a force under the command of Cèloron de Blainville to take formal possession in the name of the king, to drive the British traders from Logstown, and to break up the hotbed of British intrigue at the Miami town of Pickawillany.[4] Cèloron spent the summer and fall on his mission, here and there burying metal plates — some of them have been found — to indicate the "reëstablishing" of French possession.[5] Wherever he met British traders he warned them to leave. His mission was disappointing, for in sounding the native temper he found little that was encouraging; "the tribes of those localities," he reported, "are very badly disposed toward the French and entirely devoted to the English."[6]

The seriousness of the situation was brought to the attention of the home government in 1750 by a long and able memorial from Governor de la Galissonière. He pointed out the value of the American possessions to France, the possible future growth of the internal valley, and the particular importance of Detroit and the Illinois country. He stressed the danger to the colony in case the British should succeed in cutting the north from the south by their incursions into the Ohio valley, which the governor termed unquestionably French territory.[7]

His report came at an unfortunate time. Decision on this

[3] "The Ohio Company," in Craig, *The Olden Time*, 1:291 ff.; Fernow, *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days*, 240 ff., contains the most important papers on the Ohio Company; Gist, *Journals* (ed. Darlington), *passim*.

[4] For these see above, p. 187.

[5] The journal of Cèloron is printed in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18: 36 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, 57.

[7] *New York Colonial Documents*, 10:220 ff.

thorny problem belonged, as the French government was then organized, to three departments, those of foreign affairs, of the marine, and of finances. All these had lately been placed in charge of new men to please the fancy of Madame de Pompadour; two of the former ministers had been dismissed solely upon her request. Madame de Pompadour's interest in colonial affairs was never manifest. Had she found a John Law among her advisers her attitude of indifference toward the distant possession of France might have been changed to that of an alert protectress. As it was, however, questions of European prestige ever overshadowed in her mind the issue in America. In this she shared a popular prejudice. Voltaire later wrote: "Canada cost much and made very little return."[8] A fight for the valley of the Ohio could arouse no enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, as the situation at the forks of the Ohio unfolded itself, the government realized that resistance must be made. No one, whether king, minister, soldier, or citizen, suggested parting willingly with the two American colonies. There existed a great aversion, however, to incurring further and possibly very vast expenses. These two conflicting considerations shaped the course that was taken. Defend the rights of the king in the contested region, if necessary, by occupying it, but keep the expenses down as much as possible and avoid giving the British just reason for complaints — such was the tenor of all communications coming from Paris to Quebec.[9]

The critical situation among the Indians demanded and brought particular reforms. In 1749 the reissue of trading licenses was permitted, and the practice of farming out the western posts to the highest bidder was modified in the interest of more liberal trade. Some reorganization of the posts in favor of greater centralization in the endangered district was inaugurated; thus the posts of Ouiatenon and Miami were more completely subordinated to Detroit.[10]

[8] Voltaire, *Oeuvres Complètes* (ed. Condorcet), 15:369.

[9] Minister to La Jonquière, August 27, 1751, in Collection Moreau St. Mery, B 93:30 ff.; to Duquesne, June 16, 1752, *ibid.*, 12 F:36; to Duquesne, July 2, 1752, *ibid.*, 30; to Duquesne, April 9, 1753, *ibid.*, B 97:5-5; to Duquesne, June 30, 1753, B 97:41-41. See also Richard, *Supplement to Report on Canadian Archives*, 1899, p. 161.

[10] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:25, 29; see the regulations for the fur trade, *ibid.*, 70.

Measures of a more active character were later authorized. In a letter of the French minister to the governor of New France, May 15, 1752, the policy to be followed in the northwest is explicitly set forth: "The English may pretend that by the treaty of Utrecht we are obliged to allow the savages to trade with them. But it is certain that nothing can oblige us to allow such trade on our lands." After affirming the claim of France to the territory, the future policy was laid down as follows:

"1. To make every possible effort to drive the English away from our lands in that region, and to prevent their coming there to trade, by seizing their goods and destroying their posts.

"2. To make our savages understand at the same time that we have nothing against them, that they will be at liberty to go and trade with the English in the latter's country, but that we will not allow them to receive them on our lands."[11]

A more conciliatory attitude toward the savages was commanded. Stirring up war between tribes for the possible benefit of the French was to cease; and the policy, inaugurated by La Salle and afterwards persistently followed in New France and Louisiana, of moving the tribes from their self-chosen localities to places near the French posts was to be prohibited as it was both costly and valueless.[12]

Unfortunately for the future of French America, the able administration of La Galissonière was short. It was followed by a period of government by inefficient and venal governors; the avaricious régime of La Jonquière and the weak rule of Vaudreuil — transferred from Louisiana — were separated by only three short years of the efficiency of Duquesne. A typical official of French Canada of the day was the grasping François Bigot, the intendant, ready to sell any right, power, or dignity within his jurisdiction. The western posts were freely utilized for unjust official profits; the post at Green Bay, for instance, brought the governor and the intendant the sum of

[11] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:119, 121. See also ministerial memorandum of 1751, 1752, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 10:232 ff., 239.

[12] Minister to Duquesne, June 16, 1752, in Collection Moreau St. Mery, 12 F: 36; memorandum of the king, March 22, 1755, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:152.

150,000 livres annually.[13] A minor official, Chevalier, the guardian of the warehouse in the Illinois, left at his death a fortune of 600,000 livres,[14] although he had brought but 40,000 livres with him to the Illinois and had received a salary of only 1000 livres a year. The inevitable result of such practices was the lowering of the morale of the whole empire. The character of the officials appointed to maintain the French prestige in America during this critical period must be placed high among the causes for the loss of the French over-sea possessions.

The most hopeful effort to save the French colonies was made in the administration of Governor Duquesne. After the Indians had been somewhat propitiated by the reforms, the expulsion of the British traders from west of the mountains seemed possible. The first objective was Pickawillany, the Miami town and the center of all anti-French influences. In 1752 a band of French and Indians led by Charles Langlade of Mackinac succeeded in capturing and destroying this important post; one of the British traders was killed, and the rest were made prisoners.[15]

The next year a much more significant plan was inaugurated; its purpose was to stop the British westward advance at the mountain divide by means of a string of forts from Lake Erie to the forks of the Ohio. Fort Presqu'Isle on the lake was built in that year; Forts Le Boeuf and Machault (Venango) protecting the water route to the Allegheny river soon followed. The forks of the Ohio were selected for immediate occupation.[16]

When the news of the French activities on the upper Ohio reached the British colonies, there was much excitement and righteous indignation, but no agreement was reached as to what should be done, and there was little inclination to do anything which might lead to war. Only Virginia, controlled by Governor Robert Dinwiddie and the Ohio Company, favored and demanded immediate action. In Pennsylvania, opinions were divided between belligerency and caution; New York and Massachusetts showed indifference, while the governor of South

[13] Bougainville, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:193.
[14] Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 41:311 ff.; 42:20.
[15] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:128.
[16] *Ibid.*, 180 ff.

Carolina occasionally emitted sarcastic remarks as to the sincerity of Dinwiddie's motives. The latter went on undisturbed, aggravating the situation by every step he took, until finally the only method of settlement left was war.

Dinwiddie had already, in December, 1752, appealed to the British government for aid in establishing forts on the Ohio. In August, 1753, he sent Colonel William Trent with some men to look over the grounds for such a post near the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Half a year later a fort was actually started, but was almost immediately captured by the French and replaced by Fort Duquesne, erected as a symbol of French predominance in the valley.

This first success was shortly followed by other events which seemed to the western Indians to prove the superiority of the French; Colonel George Washington surrendered at Fort Necessity, and General Braddock at the head of a British force of regulars and colonials met with an overwhelming defeat, both events occurring when France and Great Britain were nominally at peace. As a result the Indians completely renounced British influence and joined enthusiastically with the French in overrunning the western borders of the colonies.

War was now inevitable. Only the question concerning the European alliances remained. The final result of the shifting scenes of international politics united England and Prussia and made France an ally of its former bitter enemy, Austria, with purely continental European interests. The attention of French statesmen was thus concentrated on policies most remote from the vital issue on the Ohio. Nor did the new alliance bring to France any increase in naval power, and the question of the dominion of America was to be determined by the mastery of the sea.[17] Thus began one of the most momentous international conflicts in history, the Seven Years' War, or, to give it the name familiar to American colonists, the French and Indian War.

The aims of the two alliances were simple: destruction of the Prussian power and defense of the French possessions in

[17] Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, 1:7. This contains what in many ways is the best account of the war.

America on the one hand, defense of Prussia and conquest of French America on the other hand. The resources of the two could not be called equal, but the advantages did not lie entirely on one side; in Europe they were in favor of the Austrian-French-Russian combination, while in America the concentration of power in the French colonies counterbalanced the preponderance of the British colonial man force, which was about thirteen to one.

While the French government allowed its European relations to blind it to the significance of the portentous issue in America, some British politicians, awakened by the events of the previous war, were beginning to see dimly the meaning of the transatlantic struggle. The defense of British rights on the Ohio was the first American issue which divided British political factions. For reasons affecting local politics a group of men surrounding the Duke of Cumberland made an imperial issue of the French occupation of the Ohio valley and forced their platform of imperialism and war upon a ministry too weak and visionless to succeed. The sending of General Braddock was their deed. Their impotence, however, compelled an immediate reorganization of the ministry; but the new one also proved to be weak. Then some politicians attached to the Prince of Wales, the future George III, forced still another political alignment and called to leadership that first great British imperialist, William Pitt.[18]

To Pitt the American question, which he conceived as a truly western one, namely the occupation of the Mississippi valley by the English-speaking people, was paramount. While he lent King Frederick of Prussia all possible aid in the European conflict, his purpose was to win for the British empire freedom of expansion in America; and in after years the weight which Pitt gave thus early to the purely western issue was never completely overbalanced by the multiplicity and complexity of the later eastern colonial events that ended in the American Revolution.

As in the earlier colonial wars, the struggle took place mainly in the east and in the north. Louisiana felt its effects

[18] The fullest and best description of these kaleidoscopic changes is found in Riker, *Henry Fox,* and Von Ruville, *William Pitt.*

but indirectly. Louis Billouart de Kerlérec, the new governor of Louisiana, commanded only small forces and could give but little assistance to the struggle in the east. The Illinois country, however, was easily accessible to the Ohio valley, and supplies could be conveyed from there to the scene of action. For this reason the Illinois district was treated by the governor of New France almost as a dependency of the northern province.[19]

At the end of 1751, Jean Baptiste Benoist, sieur de St. Claire, handed over the reins of government to Bertet's successor, Major de Makarty-Mactigue.[20] The selection of this man for the Illinois post was apparently the work of the royal government itself.[21] Makarty was of Irish parentage, probably a descendant of a refugee of the Cromwellian war, and had been brought up in France. Very little is known about his earlier life, aside from the information contained in the official army lists. He had belonged to the famous *Mousquetaires* in France, then came to Louisiana, where he was appointed assistant major at New Orleans in 1732, and captain September 14, 1735. When he received his appointment to the Illinois on June 11, 1750, he had reached the age of forty-four and was one of the oldest captains.[22] In the same year he was made a chevalier of St. Louis.

His superiors in Louisiana spoke well of his qualities,[23] but comments of a different nature were made in Canada, whence came complaints of his intemperance. These the government treated as mere talk. Accusations of occasional bad temper might have been justified, for Makarty suffered from attacks of the gout. He was certainly self-assertive and ready to push

[19] So completely was this the case that in 1754 Governor Duquesne made a grant of exclusive trade in the Missouri valley and at Vincennes with permission to run a packet boat between Vincennes and the Illinois settlements. Kerlérec to minister, December 17, 1754, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 38:118; by unknown, May 6, 1754, *ibid.*, 260.

[20] He wrote his name either "MacCarty" or "Makarty."

[21] Vaudreuil to minister, September 28, 1749, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 33:94.

[22] Bienville's list of officers for recommendation, June 15, 1740, *ibid.*, 25:87, 89.

[23] Bienville wrote of him in 1740: "He is very sagacious, knows the service, and is attached to it;" Vaudreuil wrote in 1749: "He deserves recognition for his fidelity and attachment;" Kerlérec in 1754: "A very good officer, personally agreeable, but with little talent for dealing with the Indians." See previous note.

his own interests; he petitioned in three successive years for a king's lieutenancy and also for favors in the army for a son and a brother.[24]

Makarty was in France when he received his appointment, and did not arrive in Louisiana until April of the following year. In August he started for the Illinois, accompanied by his chief clerk, Joseph Buchet, and the reënforcements for his post, four companies in six bateaux.[25] Bossu, one of the officers attached to this force, gives in his *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales* a vivid description of the journey which reads like a short recapitulation of the romantic history of Louisiana. Driven by the force of oars, the little flotilla slowly moved up the majestic river between immense forests with trees "as old as the world." Settlements, native villages, and posts were passed, one after the other, each evoking memories of significant and bloody events.

After the Indian uprising which had been thwarted by the prompt action of Commandant Bertet, the posts of the upper country were continually in fear of similar conspiracies inspired by the British traders.[26] The Illinois villagers and officials became particularly nervous; the Illinois, so long faithful to the French, were being corrupted by the hopes of English rum and cheaper merchandise offered at Pickawillany. The Indians of the Wabash valley, nearer the source of these delectables, were the intermediaries in the process of extending the hostile influence.

In 1751, just before the arrival of Makarty, the revolution became nearly an accomplished fact. Indian nature was at the breaking point; it could resist temptation no longer, in spite of the remembrance of earlier favors. There appeared at Kaskaskia thirty-three Piankashaw who pretended that they were preparing to go on the warpath against the Cherokee; on this plea they obtained munitions from the acting commandant, Benoist de St. Claire. Soon, however, the actions of the Indians awakened suspicions. A French soldier was scalped,

[24] Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 1:97; Makarty to minister, May 19, 1753, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 37:186. Requests for promotion and for favors to relatives were not unusual.

[25] Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 1:19 ff., 28 ff.

[26] See above, p. 188.

and several inhabitants outside the village were attacked. It was later learned that the plan of the Indians was to fall upon the villagers as they came out of mass; but Montchervaux, commanding at Kaskaskia, by a ruse succeeded in unmasking their designs. The Indians were fired upon, and many of them were killed; the Piankashaw were forced to flee, while the Illinois made immediate submission. On the next day the arrival of Makarty with his four companies of soldiers assured the triumph of the French. The danger continued so threatening, however, that the inhabitants were commanded to carry guns to church, and two sentinels were placed at the church door during mass.[27]

Soon the Indians themselves underwent an experience somewhat similar to that which they had prepared for the whites. Some Cahokia met a few Foxes hunting in the woods and, in spite of existing peace, made them prisoners and burned them at the stake.[28] One of the captives made his escape by a remarkable feat of swimming and carried to his tribesmen the news of the treachery. The Foxes immediately decided upon retaliation; messengers were sent to the Sauk, the Sioux, and the Kickapoo, and a force of one thousand warriors was gathered. In one hundred and eighty bark canoes the avengers descended the Mississippi, heading straight toward the village of the Michigamea, just above Fort de Chartres, where the Cahokia had taken refuge. On June 6, 1752, the village was taken by surprise and burned. Eighty men, women, and children were put to death or taken prisoners. In the weakened condition of the Illinois, the loss was irreparable. From this time dates the beginning of the total depletion of the tribe.

Makarty, who was unaware of the attack until it had been made, took immediate measures to procure peace between the warring nations. In this he was aided by Adamville, who was

[27] This account is taken from the official statement of Governor Vaudreuil, April 8, 1752, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, $C^{13}A$, 36:88 ff. See also Makarty's letter, June 1, 1752, *ibid.*, 307 ff. Some details are given by Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 1:98 ff.; but, loving a dramatic story, Bossu places the event on December 25 and pictures himself not only as a spectator but even as the inventor of the ruse by which the intention of the Indians was discovered. This is not the only case of discrepancy between Bossu's account and the documentary evidence.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1:111.

in command of the fort at Peoria, which had been reëstablished at some unknown date.[29]

From the time of Boisbriant the repair or rebuilding of Fort de Chartres had been a perennial issue in the district of the Illinois. When Makarty set out from New Orleans, the fort had been deserted for a few years, and the troops were housed in Kaskaskia. The governor of Louisiana was persuaded that the time had come when the old fort should be reduced to secondary importance and a new one erected at the southern village, as had been suggested several years before. He wrote the minister that Kaskaskia had a population as large as that of all the other villages, that the old site no longer served its original purpose, since the traders to Canada had ceased using the Illinois river, and that the former fort was much too small for the enlarged garrison. He gave orders to Makarty, therefore, to make Kaskaskia his residence and to place only a small garrison in the post that had represented for so many years French sovereignty in the district.[30]

To carry out this plan an engineer, Jean Baptiste Saucier, was sent. He was instructed to call Makarty, the chief clerk, Joseph Buchet, and the principal officers of the garrison into consultation with him about the new site, which was to be located, if possible, on the village side of the Kaskaskia river. He was also to draw a plan of the fort, to estimate the cost of construction both in masonry and in wood, and to send the governor his opinion on the subject. He was instructed to await final orders before proceeding with the construction.[31] This fort at Kaskaskia was to retain the name so long associated with the Illinois, Fort de Chartres.

After examining all possible sites the committee determined not to follow the governor's instructions concerning a change, but to rebuild near the old Fort de Chartres. Their decision concerning the undesirability of Kaskaskia was in

[29] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 17:315, note; *ibid.*, 18:158; Kerlérec to minister, August 20, 1753, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 37:70. There is evidence of a fort at Peoria from 1752 till the end of the French régime. On Adamville see Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales*, 1:119.

[30] Vaudreuil and Michel to minister, May 21, 1751, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 35:21.

[31] For a very interesting account of Saucier, see Snyder, *John Baptiste Saucier*.

accord with that rendered by La Buissonniére about twenty years before.[32]

This decision, however, did not close the story. There had been for years a palisade fort in Kaskaskia, but it was only a protection against Indians. In 1759, the inhabitants became apprehensive at the successes of the British in the east and, fearing the near approach of the enemy, petitioned the commandant for a fort, offering to provide the materials. With this understanding a strong palisade fort was constructed on the bluffs across the river from the village, where the outlines of the earthworks may still be traced.[33]

The engineer, Saucier, drew the plan for the new Fort de Chartres and estimated that the cost to build it in masonry would be 450,000 livres; when this estimate reached New Orleans, Governor Kerlérec and the *commissaire-ordonnateur* cut down the estimated expense by 200,000 livres and ordered its construction. Some time in 1753 the foundations were laid, but the fort was not entirely finished even ten years later. Meanwhile the ministry had changed its mind about constructing expensive forts in Louisiana and sent instructions to stop all work of the kind. As the letter did not reach New Orleans until July, 1754, the governor could answer that the work was too far advanced for such a course.[34]

The new fort, sufficiently strong for its purpose, was capable of housing between three and four hundred men. An English officer, experienced in such works, declared later: "It is generally allowed that this is the most commodious and best built fort in North America." He described it as "an irregular quadrangle, the sides of the exterior polygon are four hundred and ninety feet; it is built of stone and plastered

[32] See above, p. 182. The reason for the decision is not given in the documents, but in a letter of Kerlérec, the new governor of Louisiana, on July 14, 1754, it is stated that the change was made after "mature deliberation." Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 38:17 ff.

[33] It is today incorrectly called Fort Gage. Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period,* 4. The fort was burned down in 1766; Pittman, *Present State of the European Settlements* (ed. Hodder), 85.

[34] Memoir of chief engineer, Duvergé, August 6, 1753, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 37:77 ff.; Kerlérec to minister, July 14, 1754, *ibid.,* 38:17 ff.; Pittman, *Present State of the European Settlements* (ed. Hodder), 88; a detailed description may be found in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 91 ff.; see also Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales,* 1:137. Duvergé instead of Saucier may have drawn the plans for the fort.

over, and is only designed as a defense against the Indians, the walls being two feet two inches thick." [35]

In 1755 the governmental offices were removed from Kaskaskia and around the new fort there soon reassembled a population of about forty families, forming a village that was named New Chartres.

In the war waged with the British for the Ohio valley, the Illinois district played an important rôle, its natural connection with New France being evident in the manner in which the northern governor drew from it both supplies and men for his operations. As early as 1752 Makarty was asked to furnish grain and meat for the garrisons in Detroit, Miami, and Ouiatenon. About the beginning of 1753 came the request to prepare provisions for the large Canadian force which was being sent to the Ohio.[36] On September 1, Makarty dispatched the provisions with a detachment of a hundred men commanded by Captain de Mazilière; but on account of a misunderstanding the expedition failed to reach its destination. In September, 1755, the commandant of Fort Duquesne asked for 120,000 hundredweight of flour and 40,000 of pork. The next spring Makarty sent in a convoy commanded by Captain Coulon de Villiers as much of this as he could gather.[37]

This close connection with Canada had certain disadvantages. Trade had hitherto followed the stream and had accustomed itself to the market at New Orleans. Now it had to adjust itself to new and unfavorable conditions, for, aside from the difficulty of voyaging against the stream, the Illinois French discovered that the governor of New France had granted exclusive rights of trade in the upper Ohio valley to his favorites.

After he had delivered the supplies at Fort Duquesne, Villiers, anxious to avenge the death of his brother, Jumonville, killed in the engagement with George Washington, asked the commandant of the fort for active service. His first at-

[35] Pittman, *Present State of the European Settlements* (ed. Hodder), 88.

[36] Makarty to minister, February 1, 1752, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 36:307 ff.; Kerlérec to minister, June 23, 1754, in Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louïsiane Française,* 55.

[37] *Ibid.,* 57. Coulon de Villiers was not related to the Neyon de Villiers who was later commandant of the Illinois.

tempt was without result on account of the sickness of himself and his men; but on July 13, he set out again with twenty-two men, who were later reënforced by thirty-three Indians, to attack George Croghan's stockade. He lost his way; and, unexpectedly coming upon Fort Granville, defended by thirty-eight men, he attacked it immediately. During the night he was able to place wood against the wall and set the fort on fire. The officer in command was killed in trying to extinguish the flames, and the garrison surrendered at discretion. The captives, among whom were three women and seven children, were saved by Villiers from the vengeance of the Indians and safely conveyed to Fort de Chartres, where they were ransomed from the Indians by the French officers and inhabitants and sent to New Orleans.[38]

Other expeditions were sent from the Illinois to Fort Duquesne until the fall of that fort in 1758. The drain on the provincial treasury for all this activity was heavy. The governor reported that there had been expended in the Illinois district during a period of eight months almost six hundred thousand livres.[39] The most conspicuous figure in these Illinois expeditions was Charles Philippe Aubry, later the last acting governor of Louisiana. In 1756 he was sent to the Illinois in command of an expedition numbering one hundred and fifty men. Major de Makarty, learning that the British were planning to send a war party to the Mississippi via the Tennessee river, ordered Aubry to erect a fort on the Ohio. This fort—called first Ascension and later Massiac—was completed by June 20, 1757; it was a frame structure of a temporary character. Aubry then led a force of forty men up the Tennessee river for "about 120 leagues," and soon after repelled an attack of the Cherokee upon his new fort.

His next exploit was to make him a witness of a historic scene, the fall of the French dominion in the Ohio valley, the last act in the drama heralded so melodramatically by Cèloron de Blainville ten years before. In the spring of 1758 Aubry

[38] Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française,* 85 ff.; Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales,* 1:162; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 18:159.

[39] Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française,* 102.

was ordered to conduct from the Illinois a convoy with supplies and reënforcements to Fort Duquesne. With seventeen large bateaux he set out on March 10. He found the troops at Fort Duquesne awaiting the approach of the British army under the gallant Brigadier John Forbes. On September 14 Aubry led a sortie against a British vanguard under Major Grant, who had prematurely and unwisely threatened an attack, and was successful in routing the enemy and taking their commander captive. For a time Aubry was employed in watching the advancing army and attacking when opportunity offered; this was done only in order to gain time, for the French had determined to burn the fort and abandon the upper Ohio valley. This they did in November, 1758. Aubry with his men, conveying some of the cannon, retreated to the Illinois.

By this act the valley became British, although for several years its possession was disputed by the Indians. Fort Duquesne was rebuilt and rechristened Fort Pitt, and the village that sprang up around it was called Pittsburg, in honor of the great British minister who had the clear vision to see the value of the west to the English-speaking people.[40]

Aubry was once more sent out with provisions and troops to turn the tide in the northeast, a last supreme effort on the part of the Illinois.[41] He started with four hundred men in the spring of 1759, descended the Mississippi, moved up the Ohio, then the Wabash, and proceeded from there along Lake Erie; his purpose was to reach Forts Presqu'Isle and Niagara. He found the first of these deserted. When nearing the second he was attacked by a British force under General William Johnson, was beaten, and was himself made prisoner.

During the first two years of the war the French had more than held their own on the American continent, but then the

[40] This account of Aubry is drawn from his memoir translated in Beckwith, volume 1 of *Illinois Historical Collections*, 166 ff. See also Kerlérec to minister, December 20, 1758, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C^{13}A, 40: 165 ff.; anonymous memoir, undated, *ibid.*, C^{13}C, 1: 107; Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 102.

[41] Makarty to Kerlérec or minister, November, 1759, *ibid.*, 106; Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 4, note 2.

tide turned. The last real French success was Aubry's defeat of Grant near Fort Duquesne in September, 1758. Thereafter fort after fort and city after city fell into the hands of the British; Fort Frontenac in 1758, and following General Wolfe's great victory on the Heights of Abraham, in September, 1759, Quebec; Le Boeuf, Machault, and Niagara fell in the same year; Montreal and all New France in September, 1760. After that the western posts were quickly occupied, and by the fall of 1761, the French flag had ceased to float north of the Ohio, save in one district, the Illinois.

The Illinois, belonging to the province of Louisiana, had not been ceded when New France was surrendered, so it might well expect an attack from the British. Commandant Makarty shared the general despondency of the French officials at their failure, but he made preparations to repel the enemy. Little could be done. The defeat of Aubry near Fort Niagara had cost him the *élite* of his men — in all, six officers, thirty-two soldiers, and fifty-four inhabitants. In May, 1760, the able Irish commandant left the district to assist the governor at New Orleans, and there he died in 1764.[42]

Makarty's successor was Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers, a member of a Lorraine family more noble than rich, unconnected by blood with the noted Canadian family of the same name. In the year 1735, Neyon de Villiers entered the army, saw some service in France, and in 1749 was sent to Louisiana, where his interests were promoted by his brother-in-law, Governor Kerlérec. He was a man of rather exceptional ability and, after leaving America, rose to the rank of brigadier general and governor of Marie-Galante.[43]

His principal duties during his incumbency were first to prepare to ward off the threatened British attack and later, after the war was over, to await the coming of a British officer to relieve him. His predecessor had taken measures to strengthen the district. In 1759 a large party of Shawnee had been stationed near Fort Massiac to give assistance, but becoming fearful they had withdrawn to a position nearer Fort de

[42] Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 106; Kerlérec to minister, June 12, 1760, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C[13]A, 42: 39.
[43] For sketch see Gosselin, *Notes sur la Famille Coulon de Villiers*, 21.

Chartres.[44] The following year Makarty had heard that the British were carting wagonloads of tar and tow to Pittsburg to build bateaux for an expedition against the Illinois and accordingly had ordered "Fort Massiac to be terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a good ditch."[45] Villiers followed Makarty's policy in strengthening this post, which was most exposed to attack either from the Ohio or by Indians and British via the Tennessee, and on May 22, 1760, sent Philippe François, sieur de Rocheblave, who was later to play an important rôle in Illinois history, with two boats and fifty soldiers to supersede the Sieur Declouet as commandant.[46]

The Illinois district was not wholly abandoned by the officials of Louisiana or New France. Governor Kerlérec sent powder, but a more welcome succor came from the north, when after the surrender of New France, the Sieur de Beaujeu-Villemonde led one hundred and thirty-two soldiers from Mackinac through the wilderness to Fort de Chartres, where they were immediately placed in garrison.[47]

The occupation of the lake posts and those erected between Lake Erie and the forts of the Ohio was quickly accomplished by the British. Major Robert Rogers with his noted Rangers was first sent, and was soon followed by British regulars. In the winter of 1760–1761 such small posts as St. Joseph, Miami, and Ouiatenon were occupied by British troops, drawing closer the cordon around the Illinois.[48]

The traders followed on the heels of the army. A village of them soon grew up around Fort Pitt, the natural starting place for Detroit, Mackinac, Ouiatenon, and other western posts, to which the military authorities tried to confine the trade.[49] A report had reached New Orleans by June 24, 1760, that the British "have invited the Illinois Nations to go to

[44] Whether the Shawnee, settled here by Bertet in 1746, still remained is unknown.

[45] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:217.

[46] *Ibid.*, 213.

[47] *Ibid.*, 221; minister to Kerlérec, January 25, 1762, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, B, 114:23. These troops after wintering among the Sauk and Foxes arrived in the spring of 1761.

[48] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:224, 249; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (reprint), 19:40, 118.

[49] *Ibid.*, 90, 97, 128; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:228.

trade at the Rock."[50] Some time in 1763, if his journal is to be trusted, a Mr. Hamburgh had journeyed from Detroit to St. Joseph, had crossed to the Kankakee and canoed down the Illinois to the Mississippi, and had seen enough of the French villages to describe them.[51]

When Commandant de Villiers learned that a peace had been signed, he took occasion to draw in his scattered forces. Toulon, who commanded at the Peoria fort, was recalled with his small garrison. The garrison at Fort Massiac was reduced to fifteen men and an officer; the artillery was sent to Ste. Genevieve. Villiers himself remained only for a short time thereafter in the Illinois country.[52]

The consequences of the engrossment of French military energy in purely European questions were now only too evident. Yet strangely enough the French were hardly conscious of the price they had paid. In the memoirs and letters of the time appears no apprehension of the future consequences of their acts; rather is there evidence of relief at the stoppage of over-sea expenses. The Duc de Choiseul, to whom fell the duty of making peace, was distressed by the humiliation of France in war and the consequent loss of European prestige, but was rather pleased at the thought of the future trouble for Great Britain in the increased area of its colonial empire, particularly now that the colonies needed no external protection from France.[53]

France had failed in the creation of a colonial empire for many and complex reasons. The geographical location of the British and French colonies brought an inevitable clash, in which the compactness of the former with their ever-increasing

[50] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 18:217.

[51] Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies,* 360 ff. The journey may not have been made along the course as described in the journal, for the writer may have been one of those captured by the Indians at Ouiatenon in 1763, and conveyed by the Illinois river to Fort de Chartres.

[52] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period,* 53. The story of Villiers is continued below, p. 261.

[53] After the fall of Canada and when peace terms began to be discussed, the French ministry consulted people familiar with the situation in the Mississippi valley, with the evident intention of concentrating on the province of Louisiana all their attention. Several memorials resulted. The possibility of withdrawing all the inhabitants of Canada to the valley of the Ohio was seriously discussed by one memorialist. Illinois was to be made a real center of French colonial life. Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française,* 102.

population pushing inexorably westward assured them the victory against a rival attempting to extend dominion over the territory stretching from the St. Lawrence valley to the mouth of the Mississippi. As soon as the British colonies were strong enough to strike at either end of the long line or to break it in the middle at the Ohio, the result could not remain in doubt.

This handicap of geographical location could have been overcome only by maintaining a larger population than was in the British colonies. This the French failed to do. To dogmatize concerning historical events is highly dangerous, but the experience of European countries in colonization seems to indicate a chance of greater success for those nations whose people have been trained in local self-government. The French genius, whether the result of native characteristics or of inheritance from a Roman environment, develops highly centralized forms of government with only a modicum of local autonomy. In America this feature was particularly conspicuous. The colonists accepted from France even in their most private affairs a guidance that no English settlement wished or would have tolerated. Individual initiative never flourished. The form of this centralized guidance was conspicuous in all the French villages; the commandant, the judge, the notary, and even the priests kept directly in touch with the royal court, from which came their orders, their salaries, and all favors.

This limitation of initiative on the part of the colonists was baneful in many ways. The building up of a feudal system with its traditional hierarchy, the spiritual control by an organized church with its Old World tithes, the prohibition of Protestants and Jews from settling in the French colonies, all tended to lessen immigration. Many possible colonists saw no attraction in a new world offering many hardships and no economic and ecclesiastical freedom. The full force of this inhibition is realized when there is contrasted with the results of the French policy the colonization of the British territory by Puritans, Quakers, Catholics, and even French Huguenots.

Finally, the French people have never shown a fondness for emigration. Love of adventure in far lands they have frequently exhibited and nowhere more than in America, but the

longing to gather their families and their household goods, to break the ties of the home land, and to seek their economic fortunes in distant countries with no thought of a return is not commonly found among the French people. Perhaps, therefore, the failure of the court in its colonial aspiration was doomed by the nature of its own subjects. Who can tell? The historian knows only the results of the forces as they have worked themselves out. The possible consequence of the introduction of other forces is unknown. In the contest for the Mississippi valley the British won.

Peace negotiations between France and Great Britain were begun in March, 1761; they were broken off in the fall, and Spain joined the belligerents on the side of the great continental combination; but the nations soon took up again the plan for ending the war.[54] At one time the status of the Illinois became of international importance. The negotiations brought to an issue the question whether it was included in the surrender of Canada; but it was only of ephemeral importance. In November, 1762, the preliminaries of peace were agreed upon between France and Great Britain, and on February 10 of the following year ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged. France ceded to Great Britain all its possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi, with the exception of a small strip at the mouth of the river where New Orleans was situated; it retained certain islands on the Canadian coast and in the West Indies, and the fishery rights near Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. In compensation for the loss of Florida to Great Britain, the French territory west of the Mississippi, together with the eastern strip at its mouth, was ceded to Spain by separate agreement. Thus ended the rule of France in America.

[54] On the treaty of peace, see Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 1:45 ff.

XII. ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW TERRITORY

THE territory which came to the British dominion by the treaty of 1763 was of vast extent, but at the time almost unknown by the triumphant nation.[1] Before the outbreak of the war no widely read English writer had taken as his theme this magnificent hinterland with its inviting rivers and lakes, its shaded hills and sunny valleys; during the sixty-five years or more when American traders had been purchasing furs from the Indians in the Ohio valley, they had brought back no word for the reading public; nor had the popular French books by Hennepin, Lahontan, and Charlevoix reached more than a small circle. Few had even heard of the little French villages nestling around the Great Lakes or hugging the bank of the Mississippi river, and the names of the more important towns, New Orleans, Mobile, and Spanish Pensacola, had been almost unspoken in the streets of London. The conquest brought from the British press many publications that somewhat dissipated this general ignorance, but up to the time of the American Revolution the failure of the British public and its ministers to understand the topography of their over-sea possessions or to perceive the advantages dormant in the west was an important factor in retarding the development of a sound colonial policy. The famous Dr. Samuel Johnson recorded a widespread popular opinion when he wrote that "large tracts of America were added by the last war to the British dominions;" but that they were at best "only the barren parts of the continent, the refuse of the earlier adventurers, which the French, who came last, had taken only as better than nothing."[2]

There were, however, some people who valued more high-

[1] This whole chapter is only a brief summary of my work entitled: *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* and the curious reader is referred to its pages for a fuller account of the British western policy and for my authorities for the statements in the text.

[2] *Works of Samuel Johnson* (ed. Lynam), 5:414.

ly the conquest which had been made and looked forward to an extension of the empire in consequence. Benjamin Franklin saw as in a vision the valleys of the west teeming with a flourishing population which would add strength and wealth to the mother country, though he did not look for the fulfillment of his dream until after the lapse of "some centuries."[3] Doctor John Mitchell, who had made a careful study of the American colonies, wrote in 1757: "But if we consider the vast extent of those inland countries in North America, and the numbers of natives in them, with the still greater numbers of people they must maintain, the power they must necessarily give to any state possessed of them must appear to be very great."[4]

Before 1748, when the privy council granted the petition of the Ohio Company of Virginia to make a settlement beyond the mountains, no attempt to formulate a western colonial policy imperial in nature had been made. The British government had preferred to leave all questions concerning the Indians, the fur trade, and the land to the judgment of the governments of the American dependencies, with the result that various systems had been developed, under which the aborigines had been continually robbed of their land and cheated in trade. During the first colonial war in the reign of George II, it became apparent that the dishonesty of the colonists in their dealings with the Indians had created a fear of the British and a consequent hostility that was felt even by the natives in the most remote regions of the Ohio valley.[5] If the ministry was intending to follow up its action in favor of the Ohio Company by promoting a general westward movement of population along the back of the colonies, there was need of discovering some effective method of suppressing the lawlessness and dishonesty so characteristic of this borderland between the whites and the Indians.

The difficulties in the way of formulating an imperial pol-

[3] *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (ed. Smyth), 4:55.

[4] Mitchell, *Contest in America, p.* XVII.

[5] It will be remembered that the French at this period were persuaded that the British had completely won over the Indians. From British reports, on the other hand, it would appear that the French were the more successful. The truth is that the tribes nearest to each of the European nations were discontented with their treatment by the adjacent white neighbor.

icy for the west to supplement or replace the colonial management were largely the offspring of the divergent opinions of the prominent men in the colonies and the mother country, which opinions had their origin both in broad and basic political principles and in personal interests. The principal issue dividing men's minds arose from opposing theories touching the value of colonies. An older view, still popularly held, regarded colonies simply as producers of raw materials not produced at home and therefore looked upon southern dependencies as of greater value than northern ones. A new view, however, was developing, according to which colonies were valued as markets for manufactured articles. Those holding the modern opinion urged the necessity of filling up the waste places of America with potential purchasers, whereas the men with the older view saw in the wilderness only advantages of the fur trade. Each of these parties in the course of time developed its own western colonial policy supported by its own line of arguments.

A second and very complex issue arose out of the extensive boundaries of various colonies, particularly Virginia, which made claim to the uttermost extent of the British domain. Many imperial-minded men both in America and in the mother country held firmly to the conviction that the newly acquired territory was imperial soil and combated vigorously the claims of their opponents. Pennsylvania men, such as Benjamin Franklin and his friends, were particularly anxious that the whole west should be developed under the control of the empire. Their personal interest is self-evident. The other side of this issue found support in the fears of financial classes at any attack on vested interests.

Men opposed any expansion of settlements westward for other reasons — they were holders of large tracts of land east of the mountains and dreaded the opening up of more land for sale; they were engaged in the fur trade; or, inspired by altruistic feelings, they wished to find some means of protecting Indian rights. There was, then, a complexity of interests in the west that made every ministry hesitate to assume responsibility for definitive action.

These stumblingblocks in the way of formulating a pol-

icy of western development were increased in number and size by the political system existing in Great Britain. Politics of the early years of George III were chaotic and cannot be explained simply by dividing the partisans into two parties, the whigs and the tories, as has been so generally done by American historians. Instead of two parties, there existed six or seven rival factions headed by politicians fighting generally under the banner of some noble house. These factions differed in their attitude toward the colonial problem, according to the self-interests of their members; but their platforms, like those of their modern counterparts, could be easily changed on the chance of office holding, the *summum bonum* of politicians of all generations. Still the colonial problem did at times become a live issue, and the predominant opinion on the over-sea provinces of any ministry can be determined by an analysis into its factional parts.[6]

The factions may be divided for the purposes of this volume into those favoring the policy of rapid and uncontrolled expansion in the west; those favoring a more moderate and carefully guarded expansion; and those who opposed the development of the west, except in so far as it might be exploited by the fur trader. Among the leading expansionists of the empire must be counted George III and many of his personal followers, as well as the group surrounding the great politician, William Pitt, who had done so much toward the winning of the west. Upholding the other extreme was a large body of politicians, many of them belonging to the famous faction known as the old whigs, representing vast property interests and influential political traditions; most of them believed that the treaty of peace — in which they had had no hand — was a failure; and for that reason they disapproved of any policy, such as the exploitation of the acquired territory, that might by success justify it.[7]

Before the outbreak of the French and Indian War one step toward the formation of a western policy had been taken

[6] In my *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 1: 19 ff., a discussion of government by factions will be found presented in a much more complete way than can be done within the covers of this volume.

[7] There were many individual members of the old whig faction who believed in permitting the colonists to expand.

by the British ministry. The government, having learned that the Indians were particularly incensed at the tricks of the traders and the encroachment of land speculators, authorized the appointment, at the time General Braddock was sent to America to take command of military affairs, of two superintendents of the Indian department. The two men who gave this office its importance were, for the north, Sir William Johnson, and, for the south, John Stuart; the Ohio river divided in a general way their spheres of jurisdiction. These two imperial officers, never endowed with sufficient power to be truly effective, were expected to be advocates for the Indians at the imperial court and protectors of their rights in the wilderness. It was largely through the influence of their letters and memoirs that the sale of Indian lands — the cause of the loudest complaint from the Indians — was, in 1761, removed tentatively from under the control of the colonial executives and made a function of the imperial government.[8] The process of centralization of power over the land west of the mountains was thus begun even before the signing of the treaty of peace.

During the winter of 1762 and 1763, a decision momentous for the west was reached. A British imperial army — twenty battalions — was to remain in America for the protection of the newly acquired territory against foreign and Indian enemies. The general in command in the colonies, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, to whom the disposition of these troops was left, determined to scatter them in small detachments, the largest, consisting of seven hundred and fifty men, being stationed at Quebec. The centers of other detachments were Montreal, Niagara, Detroit, Nova Scotia, South Carolina, Pensacola, lower Mississippi, and St. Augustine. In each case the detachment was distributed at several posts within the district; for instance, the soldiers of the Detroit district were to garrison Detroit, Mackinac, Miami, and a fort at the mouth of the Illinois river; the lower Mississippi district extended north as far as the mouth of the Ohio, where it was proposed to build a fort. Amherst supported this plan for the distribution of troops by the argument that it was better

[8] See instructions, December 2, 1761, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:478.

to colonize from the west eastward, since the boundaries would in this way be sooner protected from attack.

Such was the situation when in the spring of 1763 there was formed a new ministry, most unpopular in the history of the American colonies, because of its stamp act. Its principal member, George Grenville, has been so unfavorably identified with that measure that his real colonial policy is often misunderstood by American readers. A moderate expansionist, he believed in the gradual and controlled development of the west. Since the colonies were to reap the benefits of the expenditure for this development, he thought that they should assist in paying the imperial bill.

More important for the west was the selection of the young Lord Shelburne as president of the board of trade, in whose hands was placed the formulation of the future policy to be pursued toward America and specifically toward the Mississippi valley. As will be seen, at three critical periods in the history of the colonies Shelburne held the important position in the ministry; and at all times he proved himself a sincere well-wisher of the Americans, anxious to remove the causes of existing irritation and to promote the rapid expansion of population to the fertile western prairies. The whole later history of the British western policy can be understood only in the light of the decisions reached by this young minister in the summer of 1763.

In the various attempts to solve the problem of the west between the years 1763 and 1774, three crucial issues were raised upon which every ministry was obliged to express its view. First of all came the difficulty growing out of the presence of the military force which it had already been determined to maintain in America. Passing over the question as to whether it was wise to keep such a force in the colonies, upon which there were two opinions, an issue was clearly and definitely raised over the method of distributing the troops — whether they should be concentrated in the eastern settlements or, according to General Amherst's plan, scattered at posts throughout the west. The anti-expansionists favored the former, the radical expansionists, the latter.

The second issue grew out of the attempt to organize

Indian affairs. Some of the imperialists desired to create a strong, independent, centralized department for the management of the Indians. Those of more moderate views favored the subordination of the department to the military authority. Others — and this group included both imperialists and those indifferent to imperial questions — preferred to leave all the relations with the Indians to be managed by the colonies.

One phase of the organization of Indian affairs became of so great importance as to form a separate issue. There was practically no disagreement about the necessity of running a boundary line between the land open for settlement and the Indian hunting grounds; but was the Indian boundary line, once established, unalterable? Did it create in the west an Indian reservation in perpetuity? Futile as such an attempt would have been, yet it was the opinion of the conservative anti-expansionists among the politicians that the white men should be forever prohibited from making settlements beyond the arbitrarily established line. Their opponents, with a clearer vision of future events, took issue with them and urged the promotion of colonization. These latter included both the moderate expansionists, who were willing to permit the gradual extension of settlements under the supervision of imperial agents, and the radical expansionists, who were opposed to any check upon the rapid movement of the population into the newly acquired territory. Undoubtedly the majority of British politicians favored expansion in some form.

On all these issues Lord Shelburne took the side of the intelligent opinion of Americans, and in general he was ready to follow their advice. He favored the protection of the west by the British army until the maintenance of the army in the colonies became a cause of irritation. He opposed the imperialization of Indian affairs and preferred to leave the issues arising out of the contact of the Indians with the whites to be decided by the colonists themselves. From first to last he realized that the west would be inexorably overrun by the whites, and he thought it inadvisable to try to prevent this natural operation by the forcible means proposed by many of his opponents.

In accordance with his opinion he sent to the ministry in

June, 1763, his report on two subjects; the first concerned the pacification of the Indians, rumors of their uneasiness at the terms of the treaty having reached London, and the second recommended the establishment of new colonies in the ceded territory.[9] He proposed running a boundary line between the white settlements and the Indian hunting grounds in such a way that the latter should be protected from illegal encroachments, and that the former, already reaching to the land lying around the forks of the Ohio, should by treaty be secured from Indian attack. Beyond this line settlements should not be allowed until the Indian titles had been purchased by imperial officials. Thus the Illinois country would be thrown into a temporary Indian reservation, which could be abolished only slowly by the extension westward of the Indian boundary line by purchase of land from the natives.

The report proposed the establishment of three colonies with carefully marked boundaries on the side of the Indian reservation: the first, Quebec, limited on the west by a line drawn from where the forty-fifth parallel crosses the St. Lawrence river to Lake Nipissing, within which the French people would be segregated and might enjoy their own laws and customs; the second and third, East and West Florida, formed from the territory ceded by Spain and that part of the French cession lying around Mobile, where it was expected that the trade of the Illinois country would find its port. This report received the approval of the royal government, and it was ordered to be put in force.

It was Shelburne's original intention to inaugurate his policy by means of instructions to the governors of the new and old colonies; but before this could be accomplished, news of the outbreak of the Indian war, known as the Conspiracy of Pontiac, arrived; and he perceived that the crisis demanded a more decisive measure. On August 5, therefore, Shelburne and his colleagues of the board of trade recommended that the policy outlined in their report be announced in an immediate proclamation. On account of political complications looking to fundamental changes in the ministry, no

[9] The report may be found in Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, 97 ff.

action on this proposal was taken until September, by which time Lord Shelburne had withdrawn from the government and other men were obliged to make the final draft of the proclamation he had proposed.

The proclamation was finally issued on October 7 and is one of the most important documents affecting colonial development issued by a British ministry. On account of the manner of issuance and of the attempt to embody in it subjects not contemplated by Lord Shelburne, many blunders were committed by its drafters.[10] One change from the original plan must be mentioned; the crisis due to the Indian war called for the establishment of a conspicuous landmark for the proposed boundary; this was no time to parley about the rights of individuals in the upper Ohio valley or to run by surveyor's chain an imaginary line over hills and across rivers; a conspicuous landmark was demanded, and so the Appalachian divide was chosen. Thus the Indian boundary line became even more temporary in character than the one previously proposed. By this provision of the proclamation, Illinois was legally closed for a time to white settlers.

Although much had been accomplished in the formation of a western policy during the summer and fall of 1763, the proclamation of October 7 had constructed only the framework of that policy; and the haste of its final announcement had given to it the character of a temporary structure erected by workmen for some ephemeral celebration and intended to be rebuilt in more permanent material and in a grander style. Many parts of the future policy still remained to be determined. Besides the establishment of a proper and more permanent boundary line in accordance with the original purposes of the board of trade's report of June 8, there was need of a decision on such vital issues as the conditions under which the future colonization of the west would be permitted, some form of civil and judicial administration for the Illinois villages and Detroit, and the organization of the Indian trade. The colonization of the west was to prove throughout the next succeeding years to be the most perplexing and embar-

[10] The whole document is analyzed in Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 1:199 ff.

rassing of problems; and this ministry, like many of its successors, shrank from bringing to an issue a question involving the financial interests of so many influential politicians. A civil administration for the French villages was to remain long an unsettled issue. But in regard to the management of the Indian trade, the ministers proved themselves more bold; and, in accord with a predisposition for orderliness and for centralization of power evident in all their acts, they worked out a consistent imperial system which they thought would bring peace out of chaos and would prove a panacea for the evils suffered by the wards of the nation.

The last war with France had been undertaken partly for the sake of securing a monopoly of the fur trade, and no member of the ministry was hardy enough to risk the hostility of the merchants and manufacturers by underestimating its value. In Canada and the Great Lakes region Great Britain had secured control of the best available fur producing territory in North America. The peltry exported from Canada during the French régime, some of it coming from the northern Illinois country, had averaged in value at Montreal £135,000 sterling annually; and it was hoped that under better business methods this amount would increase enormously.[11]

Up to the period when the board of trade began to investigate the status of this business, no measures concerning it had been promulgated by the imperial government. The superintendents of Indian affairs had been appointed primarily to have general oversight of the political relations existing between the colonies and the natives; and only occasionally, and then by order of the commander-in-chief, who found their influence with the Indians very useful, did they assume a right to interfere with the activities of the traders, pleading military necessity as their excuse. The British government had endowed them with no such authority, nor had any ministry as yet shown an inclination to interfere with the colonial regulations or to imperialize this particular branch of Indian affairs.

The question of the control of the trade was a part of the larger problem of the regulation of all Indian relations, and

[11] Estimated by H. T. Cramahe, August 10, 1761, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 19: 14; see also General Gage's discussion, *ibid.*, 18.

at the time of the issuance of the proclamation of October 7, 1763, the ministry felt the need of fuller information on the subject before making a definite announcement. For that reason they had limited themselves to a mere assertion of the freedom of trade and of the necessity for all traders to obtain licenses from their respective governors and to give security that they would obey the rules to be made in the future.

It was not until early summer, 1764, after the adjournment of parliament, that the board of trade took this complex subject into serious consideration; and by July a plan was formulated and widely circulated for criticism.[12] It proposed an imperial department of Indian affairs which should be independent both of the military commander and of the colonial governments, and should exercise wide powers over both white men and Indians in the western territory. The Indian reservation was to be imperially administered.

The tribes were grouped in two districts, a northern and a southern, the Ohio river being approximately the boundary; and over each of these there was to be a superintendent. The northern district, which included the Illinois country, was to be divided into three subdistricts, in charge of each of which a deputy was to be appointed. These were divided into still smaller areas, within each of which a trading post was to be established, where the superintendent should be represented by a commissary, assisted by an interpreter and a smith. According to the list of tribes attached to the report, this plan would create thirteen such subdivisions in the northern district. The department was to be given complete control of all public Indian affairs, and the military officers and governors were to be forbidden to hold meetings with the Indians without the concurrence of the superintendents; but, on the other hand, the latter should act and advise with the governors.

The main purpose of these regulations was to secure the protection of the Indians from traders, settlers, and land speculators. The traders were to be obliged to take out licenses as hitherto from the governors, and at the same time to name the posts or Indian towns where they intended to trade, and

[12] *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:637 ff.

to give bond that they would abide by the regulations. Upon entering the Indian country all traders would come directly under the supervision of the Indian office and would be compelled to present their licenses to the commissaries of the posts. The latter were empowered to establish the tariffs on the goods to be sold, to prevent the sale of rum, swan shot, and rifle-barreled guns, and to establish limits beyond which trade was under no circumstances to be permitted.

For the maintenance of order at the posts, the commissaries should exercise the power of justices of the peace and try all civil suits between traders or between traders and Indians, and in criminal actions they were to be authorized to commit for trial. In cases involving more than ten pounds sterling, appeal might be taken to the superintendents, who should possess final jurisdiction. In all suits the testimony of Indians was to be taken. So exclusively had the board of trade fixed its eyes on the Indian affairs that the members forgot to provide for a government for the existing French villages. This oversight and consequent neglect were to prove disastrous in many ways for the inhabitants of the villages of the Illinois country and the Great Lakes.

The western colonial policy had now been rounded out. Its character was imperial and would create, if put into operation, a highly centralized government in the Mississippi valley. Through the military department the arm of the empire had been stretched out over this newly acquired territory and was limiting in many ways the colonial administration. With the inauguration of this Indian department with its autocratic authority intrusted to two superintendents, who were to be responsible only to the ministry, the power of the colonies must have been still further circumscribed. Although no such system in its entirety was authorized, the plan constituted a serious attempt to solve the difficult and complex problem of the transmontane territory.

The great stumblingblock in the way of inaugurating such a system was the cost, which was estimated at twenty thousand pounds. To meet this expense, it was planned to lay a tax on the fur trade. To do this would have required an act of parliament, and the ministry never saw the time when they dared to

bring their plan to such an irrevocable issue. While they were hesitating, they were dismissed.

The early years of the reign of George III were made turbulent by frequent, almost annual, changes of ministry, with the result that the policy toward America was undergoing constant changes, frequently diametrically opposite. In the summer of 1765 one of these civil revolutions brought to office the political faction known as the old whigs under the leadership of the Marquis of Rockingham. This ministry has won favor among Americans by its abrogation of the stamp tax, which had aroused most vehement opposition; but in yielding to the popular outcry of the colonists, the ministry ended the hope of securing the income which was to pay the bill for the proposed development of the west. Since no other source of imperial income was devised by this ministry, many of its members were obliged to assume a hostile attitude toward all propositions to build up the country beyond the Alleghenies.

Abandoning the promotion of western settlement, the ministry tried, during its short life, to work out an entirely new policy opposed to the one just outlined. Such a policy was elaborated and sponsored by one of the ministers, and it became the platform of many prominent politicians, but never of a majority. It proposed interpreting the Indian boundary line, fixed temporarily at the Appalachian divide, as a permanent one, beyond which no settlements should ever be permitted. The army which was being used to protect the west from the Indians should be withdrawn to the eastern colonies, where its subsistence would be less costly; and the fur trade of the Mississippi valley, regarded as of little value by the supporters of this policy, should be abandoned to the French traders of the Spanish bank of the Mississippi. The region back of the mountains should remain a perpetual Indian reservation.

There were by 1766, therefore, two well-developed western policies, each with strong political backing — one imperial, centralized, and autocratic in character, the other reactionary and narrow. The British government never enforced either, but the two remained as the ideals of many politicians and marked a battle line along which political factions tended to align themselves in every issue involving the colonies.

XIII. THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

THE sound of the war-whoop broke the stillness of the wilderness; the sharp crack of the gun aroused the tired sentinel of Britain's western responsibilities; the dusky forms of natives were seen gathering in force around every fort; Indian craft and prowess were pitted against the bearers of the white man's burden. Wherever the flag of St. George and St. Andrew had been raised over distant western posts, the natives united to drive out by stratagem or direct attack the invading white men. By concerted action they hoped to free their lands forever. The rights of the red men could be saved only by the red men's own strength.[1]

While the British ministers were solemnly discussing the destiny of the American hinterland, an Indian genius, Pontiac, had effected a far-reaching confederacy of tribes. Not surprisingly, religious ecstasy played a part; the crusade that was preached on the shores of the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, and even along the banks of the Missouri assumed the form of a direct charge from the Master of Life.[2]

The outbreak was the fruit of the resentment which had been bred in the hearts of the Indians by the wrongs inflicted by the colonists, wrongs which Sir William Johnson had been pointing out for years, but which had not been adequately corrected by the mother country. Chief among the abuses were those committed by the British traders, who squeezed out the utmost farthing of profit by all manner of trickery and by

[1] As in the case of the previous chapter, I have drawn freely on my *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* and have eliminated many footnotes which may be readily found in its pages.

[2] The message was: "I am the Master of Life. It is I who have made all men; consequently I ought to watch over their preservation. That is why I inform you that if you suffer the English among you, you are dead men. Sickness, smallpox, and their poison will destroy you entirely. It is necessary to pray to me and to do nothing that is contrary to my wishes. I will sustain you; but you must abandon your altar mats and your manitoes. Plurality of wives is contrary to my law." Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period,* 51.

pandering to the Indians' excessive love of liquor;[3] but the British government had also added fuel to the flames by a thoughtless curtailment of presents as soon as the war was over. Far more important than traders' tricks and British parsimony, however, was the encroachment of the settlers and land speculators on the Indian hunting grounds. No wonder the western Indians' fears were aroused by the insidious tales of the French fur traders, who told them of British plans to drive out all the forest children and to settle their lands with farmers. Their untutored minds now understood that the fall of the French meant for them the loss of the only power outside themselves that could stop this westward march. Hence they grasped eagerly at the fanciful hope held out by French traders that the great king was sending an army to the Mississippi valley to win back his lost territory. They believed that in attacking the British posts they were only preparing the way for the return of their beloved father.

Although the savages were ripe for revolt, it is doubtful whether the ramifications of the rebellion would have been so far-reaching and have proved so formidable, had it not been for the unifying work of Pontiac, chief of the Ottawa and virtual head of the Chippewa and Potawatomi, over whom he had long exerted a despotic sway. He shared with his fellow savages their bitter resentment against the British for their arrogance and parsimony, but he was impelled to action also by patriotism and personal ambition. A permanent Indian confederacy comprehending all branches of the race, with himself at its head, may well have been in his mind. At any rate, he clearly understood that the Indians could avail little against the advance of the British unless they combined their strength. During the years 1761 and 1762 he developed the plot, and in the latter year he dispatched his emissaries to all the Indian nations east of the Mississippi. The ramifications of the conspiracy extended to all the Algonquian tribes, to some of the nations on the lower Mississippi, and even to the Iroquoian Seneca.

[3] For a picture of traders' tricks see Rogers, *Ponteach, or the Savages of America* (ed. Nevins), 180. On the Indian war see Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

The uprising broke out in May, 1763, and the Indians found the British little prepared for their unexpected attack. General Amherst, with a supreme contempt for the natives, had expected to hold the vast western country in check by garrisons of a few soldiers scattered in far separated posts. During May and June one post after another was assaulted. Through treachery or force, Mackinac, St. Joseph, Miami, Ouiatenon, Sandusky, and other small forts yielded to the Indians. Within the space of a few weeks the whole west was lost. Only Detroit, Fort Niagara, and Fort Pitt held out; but the holding of these meant ultimate British victory.

To put down the uprising, two expeditions were sent into the disaffected region in 1764. The first skirted along Lake Erie and reached Detroit; the second, under Colonel Bouquet, marched from Fort Pitt into the heart of modern Ohio and there laid down the conditions of a future peace. The mighty Pontiac was defeated; the great valley was to be the home of his enemies; but months were still to pass before the Indians were to make a final submission.

The Indian war, cutting off the Illinois country from the east, made impossible its occupation by the British; therefore the flag of France continued to wave over the ramparts of Fort de Chartres, and for two years a French officer exercised authority over a territory that was legally part of the dominion of Great Britain. His position was not enviable. He was surrounded by crowds of begging, thieving savages and was diligently petitioned by Pontiac and his emissaries for the active support of the French against the British intruders. Commandant de Villiers, however, acted the part of an honorable representative of his king and gave cold comfort to the Indians. His power was thrown in the scale to maintain peace between the antagonists. So confident was the French commandant of his influence with the natives that he believed he could have prevented the uprising, had General Amherst informed him immediately of the armistice between France and Great Britain and of the subsequent treaty of peace.[4]

[4] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 50. Villiers was sending out belts to the Indians informing them of these events in the fall of 1763. He had been able, nevertheless, to prevent some of the Indians in his neighborhood from joining the confederacy. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 27: 653 ff.

The commandant's neutral position was often jeopardized by the fact that a considerable number of French traders were secretly and sometimes openly supporting the Indian cause. Convoys of goods were plying between New Orleans and the Illinois more frequently than ever before, and a highly profitable trade was being developed. St. Louis was founded in 1764 by Pierre Laclede, of the New Orleans firm of Maxent, Laclede, and Company, who were engaging in the fur trade throughout the upper Mississippi valley. To the new village emigrated many of the former inhabitants of the American Bottom, who now, under the leadership of Laclede, made of St. Louis a hotbed of intrigue against the British. It was evident to them that the commercial monopoly which was being built up on the Spanish side would be endangered as soon as the British should gain possession of Fort de Chartres.

Commandant de Villiers did not wait for the arrival of the British troops to relieve him. On June 15, 1764, with the consent of the governor of Louisiana, he left the Illinois for New Orleans with most of his troops and many of the inhabitants. A detachment of forty men was left at the post under the command of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, who was called from Post Vincennes on the Wabash.[5]

The occupation of the Illinois country had by the events of the Indian war become something more than a formal transfer of sovereignty from France to Great Britain. Its occupation was at once involved in the crushing of the Indian confederacy and in the reoccupation of the posts that had fallen into the hands of the red men. From 1763 to October, 1765, when at last success crowned their efforts, the British, with French assistance, made nine attempts to reach the Illinois from three points of departure, Detroit, Fort Pitt, and West Florida.[6] Two of these were strong military expeditions; the others were merely embassies, of which three were successful. Lieutenant John Ross and a trader, Hugh Crawford, made their way from Mobile overland through the Kentucky region and reached the Illinois on February 18, 1765. Lieutenant Alexander Fraser

[5] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 161 ff.

[6] The story of the occupation of Illinois is taken from the introduction of Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, where a detailed account of all the expeditions will be found.

set out from Fort Pitt and reached Fort de Chartres in April, and some time later Captain de la Gauterais with John Sinnott arrived from West Florida. All these agents were threatened by the Indians of the Illinois, but were protected by either the French commandant or Pontiac. That chief was being rapidly disillusioned. Colonel Bouquet's success on the Muskingum, the refusal of St. Ange to give help, the failure of a mission he sent to the governor of Louisiana, and the transfer of Louisiana to Spain had taught him the hopelessness of the Indian cause. Conditions were ripe, therefore, for the restoration of peace and the opening of the far west to the British.

The man chosen for the complicated negotiations for peace had been long conversant with Indian manners and thought. He was George Croghan, a successful trader, now deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson. This Irishman was popular with his associates and a born diplomat. One who knew him well described him as a man who "can appear highly pleased when most chagrined and show the greatest indifference when most pleased." Not even his chief, Sir William Johnson, exercised a greater influence over the Indian tribes than he.[7] Croghan left Fort Pitt on May 15 with two boats, accompanied by several white companions and a party of Shawnee. In compliance with messages from Croghan, representatives of several tribes along the route met him at the mouth of the Scioto and delivered up a number of French traders, who were compelled to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown or to pass to the west side of the Mississippi. The only other incident of importance on this voyage, and one which actually precipitated the negotiations, was an attack on June 8 by the Kickapoo and Mascoutens near the mouth of the Wabash. After the attack, in which two of Croghan's white companions and several Shawnee were killed, the assailants expressed their profound sorrow, declaring that they thought the party was a band of Cherokee with whom they were at enmity. Nevertheless, they plundered the stores and carried Croghan and the remainder of his followers to Vincennes on the Wabash.

Here during the first week in July deputations from all the surrounding nations visited Croghan, assuring him of their

[7] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 316.

desire for peace and of their willingness to escort him to the Illinois country, where Pontiac was residing. A few days later Croghan set out, attended by a large concourse of savages. He had advanced only a short distance when he met Pontiac coming to visit him. They returned to the fort at Ouiatenon, where, at a great council, the humiliated chief signified his willingness to make a lasting peace and promised to offer no further resistance to the British troops. There was now no need to go to Fort de Chartres. Instead, Croghan turned his steps toward Detroit, where, late in the summer of 1765, another important Indian conference was held in which a general peace was made with all the western Indians.

Immediately after his conference with Pontiac, Croghan sent an account of the success of his negotiations to Fort Pitt, where Captain Thomas Stirling, with a detachment of about one hundred men of the Forty-second or Black Watch regiment, had been holding himself in readiness to relieve Fort de Chartres. Stirling left Fort Pitt on August 24, 1765, and arrived at Fort de Chartres on October 9. On the following day St. Ange and the French garrison were formally relieved. The fort and the village were rechristened Cavendish, but the new name did not long survive.

Thus after nearly three years of fighting and negotiating, British forces came into possession of the last of the French posts in the west. Now that the task was accomplished, the still larger problem of administration confronted the government. The thirteen years of British rule over the Illinois country proved to be trying ones for the French inhabitants, since the British ministers had failed in their colonial plan to provide a civil government for the communities of white men situated west of the mountains. The resident military commander was compelled, therefore, to assume civil duties without the authority of law.[8] A more arbitrary system of colonial government could scarcely be imagined. From army officers situated in the wilderness, without experience in civil administration, practically without supervision, little could be expected.

[8] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, chapter 2. This is undoubtedly the best account of the British régime in the Illinois, and I am greatly indebted to it. Justification for my descriptions will be found in Mr. Carter's footnotes, when not elsewhere indicated.

Before Captain Stirling started from Fort Pitt upon his journey to the Illinois country, he had received from General Thomas Gage, commander of the British troops in America, a proclamation assuring the French of the right of a free exercise of the Catholic religion, "in the same manner as in Canada." The inhabitants further were to be allowed to emigrate to Louisiana, after selling their Illinois estates to the British subjects.

When the British captain went to Kaskaskia for the purpose of posting this proclamation and administering the oaths of allegiance, the inhabitants petitioned for an addition of nine months to the eighteen months, long since expired, which had been allowed by the treaty of peace for them to retire to other territory. Stirling at first was inclined to refuse this reasonable request, but when he perceived that the village was likely to be depopulated, he extended the time till the first of March, 1766, on condition that the inhabitants should take a temporary oath of allegiance and that all who intended to leave the country should notify him. At the same time, he promised to forward to the commanding general a petition in which the inhabitants asked for further extension. Similar proceedings took place at the villages of Prairie du Rocher, St. Philippe, and Cahokia.

As the British commander soon discovered, the governmental machinery of French Illinois was completely disorganized. The French officials had crossed to the other side of the Mississippi, and there was no one to exercise civil authority save the captains of militia, who continued the functions of petty civil and military officials throughout the period of British administration. In the emergency Stirling consulted with the principal inhabitants and appointed Jean Baptiste Lagrange to "decide all disputes . . . . According to the Laws and Customs of the Country," with appeal to the commandant. The records which have been preserved contain nothing about this administration, and Lagrange himself soon disappeared from view.[9]

On December 2, 1765, Captain Stirling was superseded by Major Robert Farmar, who brought his regiment up the Mississippi. At the beginning of the summer of the next year he

[9] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 124.

in turn was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel John Reed. This latter officer was recalled in February, 1768, and after a short period in which Captain Hugh Forbes commanded, Lieutenant Colonel John Wilkins of the Black Watch arrived on September 5, 1768, and remained in command somewhat over three years.[10]

On the whole the Illinois country was unfortunate in the personality of its British commandants, particularly in the cases of Reed and Wilkins, who used every opportunity to secure the greatest possible financial advantage from their isolated position. Both charged outrageous fees for issuing writs and similar documents, even demanding extortionate sums for receiving oaths of allegiance. Throughout the period of early British rule, the French inhabitants of the Illinois country were, therefore, in continual unrest, and many of the more important settlers moved their possessions to St. Louis. This village grew rapidly until the fourth year after its foundation; then the Spaniards took possession and there was a tendency for the French people to return to the Illinois country, where conditions of trade were more favorable.[11]

The loudest complaint made by the French inhabitants of the Illinois was due to the lack of a civil government. No effort was made by any of the earlier commandants to moderate this intolerable situation; but Lieutenant Colonel John Wilkins, following a bolder course, inaugurated a civil court. His motive, so far as can be inferred, was to assist the British merchants, with whom he was allied, in collecting their debts. Lacking any properly authorized court, the French had recourse to the method of arbitration such as was permitted by French law. In such cases each party selected an arbitrator and these two selected a third; the three instituted an investigation and reported their decision to the chief commandant for enforcement. Naturally the decisions reached were according to French law and gave British merchants no advantage.

The question of the law in the Illinois country was an open one. By the proclamation of 1763 the English law was declared to be that of Canada and the two Floridas, and the gov-

[10] Wilkins was superseded by Major Isaac Hamilton in the spring of 1772.
[11] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 469.

ernors of these colonies had inaugurated the new system in their provinces. The Illinois was not a part of any of these colonies and was therefore in no way affected by this provision in the proclamation; yet it might be argued that the evident intention of the government was to introduce English law in all the new acquisitions. At least such seems to have been the view of Wilkins and his associates. On November 12, 1768, the commandant issued a proclamation establishing a court of judicature for the settlement of all disputes. The commissions of the judges authorized them "to form a Civil Court of Judicatory, with powers expressed in their Commissions to Hear and Try in a Summary way all Causes of Debt and Property that should be brought before them and to give their Judgement thereon according to the Laws of England to the Best of their Judgement and understanding." There was no provision for trial by jury. The commissions further declared that this act was done "by virtue of the power to me given by his Excellency Major General Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in North America;" but so far as is known neither Gage nor any other man in authority had knowledge of the commandant's act.[12]

The court was composed of six judges during its entire existence from December, 1768, to June, 1770, George Morgan, a Philadelphia trader, being president for the whole period. In the beginning, three men of English speech, James Rumsey, James Campbell, and James McMillan and two Frenchmen, Jean Baptiste Barbau and Pierre Girardot, served with him. During the winter of 1769 and 1770 changes were made in the personnel of the court, all the newcomers except Morgan being finally displaced by the Frenchmen, Louis Viviat, Joseph Charleville, and Antoine Duchaufour de Louviere.

On March 4, 1770, the power of the court was extended to criminal cases; "And as the present Establishment of the Country," so reads the proclamation, "does not admit of Tryals by Juries on account of its Small number of Inhabitants as Well as their Want of Knowledge of the Laws and Customs

[12] Kaskaskia manuscripts, court record, 23; Ensign Butricke to George Barnsley, February 12, 1769, in *Historical Magazine*, 8:262; Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 66 ff.

of England," the court was authorized "to Hear, Try and Determine in the Summary Way" all disputes, controversies, assaults, and cases of trespass and "to impose and bring such Fines and Inflict such Corporale Punishment or commit Offenders to Jayle at the discretion of the said Court."[13]

The court exercised its new jurisdiction only a few weeks. Factions had arisen in the Illinois; one was led by the commandant Wilkins himself, another by Morgan, who seems to have won the favor of the French inhabitants. The court had originally held its sittings alternately at Kaskaskia and New Chartres until March, 1770, when Wilkins ordered it to sit at the latter village only. The court objected to this and determined to hold all future sessions at Kaskaskia. Wilkins now became openly hostile and refused to issue writs. The court answered by a memorial setting forth the injustice of the act of the commandant. This occurred on June 6, 1770, after which there is no record of further sessions. Apparently Wilkins abolished the organ which he himself had created.[14]

The British commandants found the religious situation of the Illinois in as chaotic a condition as they had found the civil administration. The Jesuits had experienced a loss of prestige and popularity in France and had been finally banished. After the treaty of peace of 1763 had been signed in Paris, there arrived at New Orleans a decree for the banishment of the order from the province of Louisiana.[15] The superior council of New Orleans acted with vigor and confiscated the property of the Jesuits not only in that city but in all the other villages within the province, including those in the Illinois; in the case of the latter the execution of the order took place on September 24, 1763, with evidences of great harshness. All the Jesuit property was confiscated, and the Jesuits themselves were forced to embark for New Orleans. On November 6, their property, sold at auction by order of the French commandant, was bought by Jean Baptiste Bauvais for the sum of 40,100 livres — a sale which later caused considerable perplexity.

[13] Kaskaskia manuscripts, court record, 23.

[14] Out of this arbitrary act of Wilkins grew many events, which will be described in the next chapter.

[15] On this whole subject see Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 62 ff.; consult also the index.

[From original in possession of Miss Julia M. Harding of Pittsburg]

This action against the Jesuits hastened the decision of Father Forget Duverger, the priest in charge of the mission at Cahokia, to leave the country, evidently fearing trouble from the British.[16] The church, land, and buildings of his parish belonged to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec, which had never issued a power of attorney to its representatives to dispose of its property. Nevertheless, on November 5, 1763, Father Forget sold the cultivated land, a stone house, and other buildings to Jean Baptiste Lagrange for the sum of 12,500 livres, and twelve slaves to Lagrange and an associate for 20,000 livres, all to be paid in installments to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, which had no title to the property. The fief itself was not sold because there was no purchaser. In December Father Forget departed for New Orleans, leaving the Illinois country without a Catholic priest.

From this total desertion the Illinois country was rescued by a man of heroic idealism and remarkable devotion to duty, Father Sébastien Louis Meurin. He had come to Canada in 1741 and the next year had been sent to the Illinois country. When, with the other Jesuits, he was ordered by the French commandant to leave his mission among the Indians, Father Meurin was fifty-six years old and already in feeble health. The Indians pleaded with him to remain and urged the commandant to grant them permission to retain their missionary, but to no avail. Father Meurin, with his companions, embarked on November 24, 1763, for New Orleans; once there he petitioned the superior council of Louisiana for the privilege of returning to the place of his life's work, although he knew there was no longer any church property nor any but voluntary means for his subsistence. His request was granted and a promise was given to him that the court of France would be asked for a pension of six hundred livres.[17]

A difficulty arose because his parishes, extending across the Mississippi, lay in two different sovereignties. This was solved by sending Father Meurin as a priest of the diocese of Louisi-

[16] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 45, 48, 49, 56. Taschereau in his manuscript history of the "Mission du Seminaire de Quebec" writes: "The most reasonable thing that can be said in his favor is that he feared to see this property seized by the English and that he preferred to save a part than to lose all."

[17] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, 118.

ana and by ordering him to take up his residence in Ste. Genevieve. He also was forced to take an oath that he would recognize no ecclesiastical superior other than the Reverend Father Superior of the Capuchins of New Orleans. Father Meurin had a sense of humor and replied that "when it should please his holiness to give the jurisdiction to the highest chief of the Negroes I should be submissive to him as to one meriting more than bishops."[18] He departed for the Illinois country with a definite promise of a confirmation of the appointment; but this failed to arrive.

Twice a year, at Easter and in the autumn, and at other times when called on account of sickness, the priest crossed the river and visited the villages on the Illinois side; this was all that his infirmities and his means would permit. It was impossible for him to go to Vincennes, and the people of that village were obliged in case they desired an ecclesiastical marriage to come to him.

On the whole the people of the villages welcomed the priest cordially, and by the first British commandants, Stirling and Farmar, he was well received; but Reed gave him scant encouragement and Wilkins was but little more tolerant. Meurin did experience some difficulty in enforcing church discipline on the people of the Illinois shore; they refused to pay tithes to a priest of Spain. The situation was certainly anomalous. In the midst of many perplexities he sought for support from every possible source, New Orleans, Philadelphia, also Paris, but he received no response.

Finally Monseigneur Briand, the newly appointed bishop of Quebec, solved the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by appointing Father Meurin his vicar-general in the west, giving him all authority to conduct the business of his district. At the same time a letter was sent by the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec asking the Jesuit to look after the affairs of that society at Cahokia, which had been left so unceremoniously by its representative at the time of the treaty of peace.[19]

[18] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 527.

[19] *Ibid.*, 558 ff. Other letters, not yet published, are in the archives of the Archiepiscopal Palace of Quebec.

It is impossible to follow the course of the correspondence which ensued between the bishop and his faithful missionary. One quotation from a letter written by Father Meurin on May 9, 1767, will reveal his attitude of mind. "I am only sixty-one years old, but I am exhausted and ruined by mission work in this country for twenty-five years, for nearly twenty years of which sickness and infirmities have shown me day by day the gates of death, so that it is only for the last five years that I have been able to make use of life. I am no longer capable of long application or bodily fatigue. I can no longer supply the spiritual needs of this country where the most robust man could not serve long, especially since it is divided by a very rapid and dangerous river."[20]

He asked for assistance, writing that there was need for four priests; but Bishop Briand was able to send him only one, the well-known Father Pierre Gibault, who arrived in 1768. At about the same time the commandant of Ste. Genevieve, by trying to put Meurin under arrest, forced him to take refuge in the British country and to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England.[21]

The situation of the church in Cahokia was not in any way alleviated by the British officials. In a letter dated June 11, 1768, Father Meurin wrote to the priests of the Seminary of Foreign Missions an account of his efforts to obtain justice for them. Colonel Reed refused to have anything to do with the case, saying that the French commandant had allowed the sale of the property to take place and that it had now passed into another hand, the purchaser Lagrange having lost it at cards to Mr. Yautard. Father Meurin, by appealing to the commandant, succeeded, however, in preventing a transfer from taking place. It is needless to report that the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris never received any portion of the promised payment.[22]

Father Gibault was still a very young man when he came

[20] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 569.

[21] Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll,* 120.

[22] Meurin to Boiret, June 11, 1768, in archives of Laval University. In 1768, the Seminary, in despair of ever recovering its property, deeded it to the bishop of Quebec and the parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia. The latter finally took forcible possession. Taschereau, "Mission du Seminaire de Quebec." See also Alvord, *Cahokia Records,* index, for information of a later date.

to the Illinois country in 1768, and he threw himself into his work with great enthusiasm, being freed from many cares by his mother and sister who were with him. He gave his first attention to the villages of the American Bottom, but he spent two months of the winter of 1769–1770 working in Vincennes, where the people had long been without a priest. Some time before August, 1770, Gibault was appointed vicar-general to relieve the aged Meurin, concerning whose inefficiency the young man had frequently complained.

An idea of the hardships he suffered during his long life as a western missionary is caught from his letter written on June 10, 1771:[23] "Sometimes in England, sometimes in Spain; a trip by canoe, one on foot, one or several on horseback; sometimes living well, sometimes fasting several days; sometimes passing several nights without sleeping, at other times not being able to sleep on account of gnats and other more malignant creatures, such as lice, fleas, bedbugs, etc.; sometimes too tired to be able to eat or sleep; sometimes trembling with fear through a whole pitch-black night at the foot of a tree or in a dense thicket, at other times running away from the Indians at the full speed of my horse . . . . sometimes with the rain on my body, sometimes hiding in the trunk of a tree; in the morning freezing with cold, and at noon scorched by the heat of the sun; sometimes full of sorrow, and at other times filled with comfort . . . . such is my life at Illinois. Pity me, or rather my soul; pray for it."

After the occupation of Fort de Chartres the British had little trouble in maintaining their ascendancy over the Indians of the Illinois country. In 1766 George Croghan came to the territory to make a final treaty with the western Indians. He was accompanied by deputies from the Six Nations, Shawnee, Delawares, and Hurons, whose presence added great weight to his words. A general conference, attended by one thousand Indian men, besides their women and children, belonging to twenty-two "tribes or bands," was held at Fort de Chartres on August 25 and 26. Here "a General Peace and Reconciliation was then declared in Public between his Majesty's Subjects the Northern Nations and all those Western Nations." A later

[23] Archiepiscopal archives of Quebec.

conference was held on September 5 and included three tribes which had not attended the first meeting.[24]

This general peace was seldom broken in the following years. The French merchants from St. Louis managed to maintain their hold on the eastern bank of the river for a time, but the British authority and influence were gradually extended into all parts of the west. Occasionally the garrison at Fort de Chartres was alarmed, as in 1768, by the threat of a general uprising; but the strength of the fort, the number of troops, and the preparedness of the white population were sufficient to prevent its occurrence.

Even when in June, 1769, the great chief Pontiac, staggering toward his canoe after a debauch at Cahokia, was killed by a member of the Peoria tribe, the Indians did not dare to express their indignation by a general attack, although the British were popularly supposed to have instigated the act. In fear the Illinois tribes sought refuge around the fort, where the military force proved sufficient to defend them.[25] Throughout 1769 and the following years there were reports of Indian restlessness, which may be ascribed no doubt to the withdrawal of the Indian commissary and the cessation of lavish presents; but beginning with 1771 peace very generally reigned along the eastern bank of the Mississippi.

Of greater interest are the activities in the Illinois country of the British merchants, who opened stores on the banks of the Father of Waters in the hope that the murky stream would wash a vast fortune into their coffers. The Illinois country was for a few years the California or Yukon of eighteenth century

[24] Croghan's report, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 373.

[25] There are many reports of conditions in the Illinois country during the months following this murder, but none give any support to the widespread tradition that the Illinois tribes were severely punished for the deed; some attacks were made upon them, but none of extraordinary character. Cole to Johnson, June 13, 1769, in Johnson manuscripts, 8:189; Gage to Hillsborough, August 12, 1769, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 87, p. 311. On June 30 Colonel Wilkins reported a threatened attack from Missouri and nineteen canoes of Sauk and Foxes. Gage to Hillsborough, October 7, 1769, *ibid.*, 5. 87, p. 347. An Indian attack had been expected even before the murder. *Historical Magazine*, 18:264. In a letter from Gage to Johnson, July 15, 1771, appears the following: "The French at the Illinois and Post Vincent complain . . . . that the death of Pondiac committed by a Peorie of the Illinois . . . . had drawn many of the Ottawa and other Northern Indians towards their country to revenge his death." Gage Letter Book.

America. Wealth was supposed to abound in its trade and in its land, and speculative colonials were ready to risk life and fortune on its distant prairies.

Before the close of the French and Indian War, merchants were already invading the west, and in 1760 it was reported that some had wandered even to the Illinois and had opened a market at Starved Rock.[26] When the war closed there was a general rush into all sections of the territory. The traders lost very heavily at the outbreak of the Indian war; but, nothing daunted, they and many others immediately took steps to follow up the adventure.

A Philadelphia business firm, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, made elaborate preparations to engross the trade of the Illinois country. Like others, they had suffered losses in the Indian war; but with the approach of peace they were the first to set their faces westward. They forwarded some of their goods to Pittsburg with George Croghan, when he made his first journey to the west in 1765; the next spring they were all ready to take advantage of the occupation of Fort de Chartres and to send their boats into the region.

The enterprise of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan should not be estimated as a small trading venture, for it was one of the notable commercial undertakings of eighteenth century America. The partners soon had one hundred and fifty thousand dollars tied up in their Illinois project.[27] Some idea of the elaborateness of their preparation may be obtained from a confidential letter to one of their agents in September, 1766, and from their correspondence with their partner, George Morgan.[28] In the year 1766, they sent down the Ohio four convoys to Kaskaskia. For the fall expedition they forwarded to Pittsburg a large number of wagons and six hundred pack horses loaded with merchandise. At Pittsburg they maintained a force of carpenters and sawyers to build their boats, sixty-five of which were ordered for November. According to a later

[26] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 18:217.

[27] "Thirty Thousand pounds Sterling." Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 475. In a letter to his daughter, the senior member wrote: "If our Com[pany] disposes of their effects at 200 p'ct profitt, I may sit down very easy the remainder of my Days as to Money Matters." *Ibid.,* 337.

[28] *Ibid.,* 383. Many other letters may be found in the same volume and the rest of the correspondence will appear in succeeding volumes of the series.

estimate — probably somewhat padded, for it was in a bid to the British government to supply the troops — the building of a boat cost fifty-five pounds, Pennsylvania currency; this was a dead loss since it cost more than the boat was worth to bring it back. The crew of such a boat consisted of five men, whose wages at four pounds per month for four months amounted to eighty pounds and provisions with rum to over fifty more. The whole expense of sending a boat to Kaskaskia, reckoned in pounds sterling, was one hundred and fifteen pounds, eighteen shillings, and nine pence.[29] The firm maintained over three hundred boatmen on the Ohio river at one time. Usually the convoys floated down the Ohio in early spring at the time of high water, but the company sometimes found it necessary to send them at other seasons.

The merchandise carried to the Illinois included all manner of dry goods and clothing, shoes being in particular demand, household utensils for both the kitchen and living room, musical instruments, wines, and rum — at one time the firm had eight thousand gallons in their store — guns and munitions, hair trinkets, brooches, earrings, crosses, brass piping, and wire; for the Indians, medals, tomahawks, silver arm and wrist bands, half-moon gorgets, nose crosses, vermilion, and wampum.

The junior partner, George Morgan, was placed in charge of the business in the Illinois country. Morgan, as yet only a young man, was to be connected for many years most intimately with the opening of the valley to trade and settlement. He was the prototype of those adventuresome business men, founders of towns, exploiters of mines, and builders of railroads, who have pushed their enterprises ever farther into the west, always abreast, and frequently in advance, of the frontier line. Morgan was born in the year 1741, of Welsh parentage in the city of Philadelphia. After graduating from Princeton University, he was admitted through the influence of his father-in-law, John Baynton, to the Philadelphia firm. From his numerous letters an idea of his personality may be caught. Throughout his life he found pleasure in watching the "sportings of nature," as he called them. This fondness took the practical turn of scientific agriculture, of which he was one of the precursors in

[29] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 477.

America. He carried with him to the Illinois country shrubs and fruit and shade trees. There stands today on the campus of Princeton University a monument to his love of nature in the line of elms bordering the avenue leading to the president's mansion, once Morgan's home.

It is difficult to estimate his business ability; at the end of his life he was well-to-do, but certainly the venture of his firm in the Illinois country was not successful, and the responsibility was his to a large extent. His business ethics were not higher than those of his environment, which approved of petty tricks, low cunning, and "graft." He was irascible and quarrelsome in his dealings with his equals and superiors, but with the Indians he was eminently successful. The natives generally had great confidence in his promises, and the Delawares showed their affection for him by conferring on him the name of their ancient and most honored chief, Tammany.

An enthusiastic idealist, Morgan threw himself heart and soul into the patriotic cause at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. This same idealism he carried into his business, and it led him to dream dreams of mighty new colonies that would owe their origins to his enterprise. Although his various plans to settle the west failed, the picture of this energetic and scheming man, with the ambition of a Cecil Rhodes but without the capacity to attain success, is, on the whole, a pleasing one; in many ways Morgan represents the builders of the new west — optimistic, self-reliant, liberty loving, individualistic.[30]

The first cargo sent by Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan was under the command of an agent, John Jennings, and arrived at Kaskasia on April 5, 1766. The second convoy was commanded by Morgan, and in his company went George Croghan, deputy of Sir William Johnson, Captain Harry Gordon, engineer, and a topographical expert, Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins, all of whom have left some record of the expedition.[31] The fleet reached Kaskaskia on August 19.

The main store of the firm was situated at Kaskaskia, and

[30] This picture of Morgan is drawn from many letters by him, which have been collected from numerous archives and members of the Morgan family. The richest source of information is a letter book kept by Morgan while in the Illinois country.

[31] Their accounts are printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime.*

branches were later established at Cahokia and Vincennes. The principal source of profit was expected to be the trade with the French and the Indians, from whom great quantities of furs were to be bought. In general the trade with the French was satisfactory, and good prices were received for the merchandise. Morgan returned home in the late fall of 1766; but on account of the failure of his firm — the creditors appointed an advisory committee — he was obliged in December of the next year to go back. He took with him several hundred French-speaking Negro slaves purchased in Jamaica. These he held at four hundred dollars apiece and managed to sell them all in the course of a year at good prices, although not all at the expected one.

The trade in furs with the Indians proved most disappointing. Captain Harry Gordon, in describing the newly founded St. Louis, gives the reason: "At This Place Mr. Le Clef [Laclede] the principal Indian Trader resides, who takes so good Measures, that the whole Trade of the Missouri, That of the Mississippi Northwards, and that of the Nations near la Baye [Green Bay], Lake Michigan, and St. Josephs, by the Illinois River, is entirely brought to Him. He appears to be sensible, clever, and has been very well educated; is very active, and will give us some Trouble before we get the Parts of this Trade that belong to us out of His Hands." [32]

This is a typical complaint of the time and illustrates the perplexities in organizing the west for the fur trade. Of course the policy of confining the activities of the British traders to designated posts gave to their French competitors an advantage which the latter eagerly seized; and they displayed their wares in every Indian village throughout the upper Mississippi valley. The hostility of the Indians to the British traders made it dangerous for the latter to disobey the ministerial regulations.[33]

[32] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 300.

[33] "An English Trader cannot at present with the least Security of his Life venture even to Post Vincent for want of a Garrison there — to asscend [sic] the Mississippi or the Illinois Rivers with Goods would be certain Death, so great is the Influence of the French in that Part, by our not having a Post at the Mouth of the latter.

"The Peltries which would be taken at those Places alone Were proper Measures fallen on, would pay a sufficient Duty to support the Garrison — by

Morgan received support in all his trading ventures from Edward Cole, the representative of the Indian department in the Illinois country, who was under obligations to the Philadelphia firm.[34] While the plan of organization for the Indian department outlined in the previous chapter was never legally authorized, the board of trade had instructed the Indian superintendents, in 1764, to put into operation as much of the plan as was possible. The southern superintendent, John Stuart, had proceeded immediately to appoint deputies and commissaries and soon proved to the ministry that the operation of the plan was very costly. On the other hand, Sir William Johnson, superintendent of the northern department, was more deliberate and proceeded to organize his district only after the Indian war was brought to a conclusion. In the spring of 1766, with the advice of General Gage, he appointed George Croghan deputy for the district stretching from Pittsburg to the Mississippi river and from the Great Lakes to the Ohio; and he made Edward Cole, who had had considerable experience with the Indians, commissary to the Illinois and gave him a smith and an interpreter as assistants.[35]

The maintenance of the Indian department in the Illinois was extremely costly. Cole's bills for operating expenses from July 1 to September 25, 1766, amounted to £1,568, 13s., 7d., New York currency; and from August 14 to September 25, in the same year, he purchased merchandise for presents from Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to the amount of about £500, New York currency. General Gage, who had to indorse all bills of the department, was astounded at the amounts and estimated that the expenses for a year would be £10,000.[36]

Which the Nation would reap a double Advantage as our Natural Enemies would be deprived of the Benefit of that Trade & thereby considerable Numbers of English Subjects would find profitable Employment." Morgan to partners, December 10, 1767.

[34] Cole's letter of December 19, 1767, in Johnson manuscripts, 15:183.

[35] Croghan's district included Fort Pitt, the Illinois, and Detroit, where Lieutenant Jehu Hay was sent. The middle district comprising Mackinac, Niagara, and Ontario, was under Deputy Guy Johnson. Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 1:290, notes 510, 511.

[36] Gage wrote to Sir William Johnson: "This is really so monstrous an account that I hardly Know what can be done with it; I ought to give some Reasons why such an enormous Expense should be incurred in one year at the Illinois, when Missilimakinak and the Detroit together, at the time that prudent People commanded these, did not cost more hundreds than the Illinois has cost

Had the fur trade in the west met the expectation of the British ministry and traders, it is possible that the empire might have been willing to pay the large price called for by the Indian department; but it did not. In Canada, where the trade was not affected by rivalry from other countries, the Scotch merchants who rushed into this region soon managed to build up a monopoly extending over the territory around the Great Lakes and stretching north to Lake Winnipeg. But the Illinois country was not particularly notable for its fur bearing animals, and no opportunity was granted to enter in a large way upon the Missouri river traffic. In 1768 Captain Hugh Forbes wrote that he was "very Sensible of the immense Expense this Country is to the Crown, and the little Advantage the Public has hitherto reaped by the Trade with the Savages."[37]

The hope of the American traders and of the British ministry of utilizing the Ohio river for the central Mississippi trade proved chimerical. Goods could be shipped down the river, but it was found too expensive to row boats up the stream to Pittsburg. Moreover, peltries commanded a higher price at New Orleans than at the eastern ports.[38] General Gage was soon cognizant of these facts and on February 22, 1767, wrote to Lord Shelburne:[39] "That Trade will go with the Stream, is a Maxim found to be true, from all accounts that have been received of the Indian Trade carried on in the vast Tract of Country, which lies on the back of the British Colonies; and that the Peltry acquired there, is carried to the Sea either by the River St. Lawrence, or River Mississippi, as the Trade is situated on the Lakes, Inland River and Streams, whose Waters communicate respectively with those two immense Rivers. The part which goes down the St. Lawrence we may reckon will be transported to Great Britain, but I apprehend what goes down the Mississippi will never enter British Ports; and I imagine that nothing but a Prospect of a Superior Profit or Force, will turn the Channel of the Trade contrary to the above Maxim."

thousands." Gage to Johnson, April 4, 1768, Gage Letter Book; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 388 ff.

[37] Forbes to Gage, April 15, 1768, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 86, 301-E.

[38] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 91.

[39] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 506.

Under such circumstances there seemed to be no good reason for continuing the expense of the Indian department as organized, and as the ministry in power at the time held views of its own on the question of the government of the west, the superintendents were ordered in 1767 to recall their representatives,[40] leaving the control of Indian affairs at the posts in the hands of the military commandants.

Efforts had been made to remedy the principal weakness of the British trade in the valley by dredging a channel from the Mississippi to Mobile by way of the Iberville river, this appearing to men who knew the conditions the best means to prevent the furs from being carried to New Orleans; but, though trenching was started, the enterprise was given up. It was evident that the only satisfactory remedy was the possession of New Orleans by the British. When a break with Spain was imminent, General Gage was commanded to make preparations to occupy that town, but finally war was averted by diplomatic negotiations.

Certain ameliorations of the situation were brought about. General Gage protested to the Spanish governor of Louisiana against the encroachment of French traders upon the British side of the Mississippi, and finally Governor O'Reilly issued an order prohibiting the subjects of Spain from crossing the river to trade; he further promised that the British would be given protection in accordance with the laws of nations. Such orders could not, of course, be rigidly enforced.

The British government learned to keep a strict watch over its own merchants. They were obliged to give bond that the furs they shipped down the river would be sent in the course of time to some British port. There are in existence documents showing how the furs collected in the Illinois and shipped from Kaskaskia were followed from port to port until their arrival in London.[41]

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan were able to maintain for a year or two their leadership in trade in the land of the Illinois. Not only did they succeed in dealing with the French vil-

[40] Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2: 53.

[41] Copies of documents in the Illinois Historical Survey; Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 93.

lagers and the Indians but they also had hopes of profits from other sources. The British troops had to be supplied with food, clothing, and other necessities, and the Philadelphia firm proposed to furnish them. In this operation their partner, George Morgan, failed. The failure cannot be accredited entirely to him, although his "irascible temper," as he calls it, undoubtedly made it very difficult for him to conduct such delicate negotiations.

On reaching the Illinois country Morgan found that Lieutenant Colonel Reed was unfriendly to his firm and preferred to make contracts for the needs of the garrison with the local French merchants, particularly Daniel Bloüin, with whom Morgan suspected the commandant of being in partnership. On his second trip Morgan brought back letters of recommendation from General Gage and the commissary general. In a letter of December 10, 1767, he reported the stormy interview that followed their presentation. Colonel Reed, he wrote, "swears that he values General Gages Letter no more than a Rush — He also swears that as We have apply'd to the General in such an Under hand Manner for the Contract, that he will take Care We shall never have it or any Advantage ariving therefrom." The colonel further declared "that he would do our damn'd Company all the Injury he could, as he had never reaped a Farthings benefit from Us." Morgan asserted, however, that "we have let him have Goods at first Cost. But this will not content him."[42]

While their younger partner was conducting the negotiations with Reed, the older members of the firm had taken the case to a higher authority. They drew up a proposal to supply the troops at Fort de Chartres with rations, at twelve pence sterling each. The government was then paying nine and a half pence sterling at Fort Pitt, with the addition of the heavy cost of transportation. This proposal was sent to the private secretary of Lord Shelburne, then secretary for the southern department, with an offer of one-seventh interest in the enterprise — "Which from What Our partner writes Us, (and his Judgment, can be depended on) will be, at least, four hundred

[42] Morgan to Baynton and Wharton, December 10, 1767, in Morgan Letter Book.

pounds Sterling a year, *to you.* It's true, this Sum, is not very considerable — Yet, as you will have no Trouble, with it, except receiving your annual Remittance from Us (and Which you may *punctually* rely On) It may not be, beneath your Notice." To facilitate negotiations further, they promised the secretary another seventh to be paid to one of the secretaries of the treasury, should this be necessary. Letters in favor of the plan were also sent to Sir Jeffrey Amherst and Lord Chesterfield by the commissary general. The private secretary sent the communication containing the offer of a bribe to his chief with a recommendation of the firm, but nothing came of it.[43]

In order that his store might have a sufficient supply of meat for the purposes of ordinary trade, and also in case Colonel Reed should be obliged to purchase from his firm, Morgan made arrangements for a number of hunters to go to the Cumberland river to hunt during the winter of 1767–1768. Although the buffaloes were becoming scarce in that region on account of the large number of Frenchmen who had hunted there in past years, he succeeded in securing a goodly supply of meat to salt down. There is a peculiar interest in this expedition and succeeding ones sent out by Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, because these Englishmen preceded Daniel Boone and his companions into western Kentucky by almost two years; and of course they themselves had been preceded by French and British for two generations.

Although unsuccessful in his dealings with Colonel Reed, Morgan was more fortunate with Reed's successor, Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, with whom he had had some previous acquaintance. He wrote his partners: "The person who is to succeed Colonel Reed in the Command here, I am on particular Friendly Terms with and I think I can do the Needful with him." His anticipations were at first fully realized; their transactions were profitable but aroused suspicions of dishonesty. Later very severe charges of corrupt practices were brought against Colonel Wilkins, and he was recalled from the Illinois to appear before a court-martial, which he was able to postpone until he could resign from the army and escape trial. In all the charges against the commandant, the name of Mor-

[43] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 471 ff., 474.

gan appears. So intimate were their friendship and business interests that Wilkins, acting contrary to his orders, donated to each of the members of the Philadelphia firm large tracts of Illinois territory, in which the commandant himself retained an interest; these grants were formally disallowed by General Gage and the authorities in Great Britain.[44]

During the latter period of Wilkins' régime Morgan was not so fortunate, for the two men fell out, no doubt on account of Wilkins' arrogance and dishonesty, but also because of Morgan's own hot-headed temper. It has already been seen that this enmity involved the fate of the court of justice that the commandant had established.

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan were by no means the only merchants seeking profits in the Illinois country. So large was the number of English-speaking traders there in the summer of 1768, that the commandant was able to muster a militia company of sixty of them. The French settlers of the west were brought into close association with eastern conditions, for they were employed in various capacities by these aliens, and many inhabitants of Kaskaskia visited during these years the city of Philadelphia, where they established business and friendly relations before the Revolutionary War broke out.

The most conspicuous rival of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan was another Pennsylvania company. It represented a whole group of merchant adventurers, the center of whose activities was Lancaster county. The head of this group was a well-known merchant, Joseph Simon, with whom were associated Levi Andrew Levy, William Trent, and George Croghan, but the relation of the latter two was always shifting. The Philadelphia correspondents of this Lancaster group were Barnard and Michael Gratz.

They had had a representative in the Illinois by the name of Prather as early as 1766, but in 1768 the Lancaster group or some members of it determined to go into the business of trade

[44] Wilkins to Barrington, March 25, 1773, in Public Record Office, War Office, 1. 2:33; Gage to Barrington, May 5, 1773, *ibid.*, 29; Wilkins to Barrington, June 15, 1773, *ibid.*, 37; Gage to Hamilton, April 20, 1773, *ibid.*, 21; Gage to Haldimand, June 9, 1772, British Museum, Additional manuscripts, 21665, p. 97. Gage to Haldimand, July 20, 1772, *ibid.*, p. 107; Wilkins to Rumsey, May 31, 1771, in Pennsylvania Historical Society, Dreer collection.

in the Illinois much more thoroughly. The new enterprise was under the management of William Murray, who for many years played an important rôle. From his letters an intimate glimpse may be gained of the character of this canny Scotchman. He displayed much more tact and diplomacy than did his rival, George Morgan; and his policy was in the end completely triumphant over the Philadelphia firm. Murray exhibited abundant energy in his undertakings and was ever ready to grasp any advantage over his competitors. His crowning gift, however, was an irrepressible sense of humor; his cheery "Courage, my boys," inspired in others a belief in his future success.[45]

Murray's first venture into the west was in 1768, when he made the trip down the Ohio in company with Lieutenant Colonel Wilkins, with whom Morgan was expecting to do the "needful" in the matter of the rations; in this particular hope he was doomed to failure, for Murray was coming to the Illinois country as the agent of the London syndicate that had the contract to provision the British troops in America.[46] He finally supplanted Morgan in Wilkins' affections, and Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan withdrew from all connection with the Illinois, selling their goods to Murray in 1771.

Between 1770 and 1773 William Murray, James Rumsey, Barnard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Alexander Ross, and David Franks were united in the Illinois business under the name of David Franks and Company; and Murray remained in the Illinois country conducting this business until after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Their business was probably not so imposing financially as had been that of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, but from one account it is evident that seventy thousand dollars represented only a part of their expenses for two years. How far they were successful it is difficult to say, but unquestionably all the Philadelphia merchants were dis-

[45] Many letters by Murray and to him have been collected from numerous archives, particularly from the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The whole career of Murray may be followed in the letters published privately in Byars, *B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia.*

[46] "The Franks Family as British Army Contractors," in American Jewish Historical Society, *Publications,* 11:181; Kohler, "Some Jewish Factors in the Settlement of the West," *ibid.,* 16:24.

appointed in the profits from their Illinois adventures. The volume of trade never became so large as was expected.[47]

The exploitation of the Illinois by fur traders was to be performed in the end by the Canadian firms which had already developed an organization better fitted for this wilderness business. Nor can it be denied that, in spite of opposite reports by many parties, it was cheaper to bring goods from New Orleans up the Mississippi river than it was to carry them by mule and wagon from the east to Pittsburg and float them down the Ohio, and this no doubt is one of the principal causes for the nonsuccess of these early "adventurers" from Philadelphia.

[47] One who knew the country well estimated that there was exported from it from September, 1769, to September, 1770, only £1,120 sterling worth of flour and 550 packs of furs worth £5,500 sterling. Hutchins, "Remarks on the Country of the Illinois," manuscript in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Hutchins papers, volume 1. See also Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 94.

XIV. COLONIZATION AND THE QUEBEC ACT

THE eighteenth century was a period of wild land speculation in the British empire; and many were the eyes, in both the new and the old country, that were turned to the west in the hope of discovering vast fortunes. Speculators were generally the first to cross the mountains to the unbroken wilderness beyond. The historic muse has always delighted to sing of the daring deeds of the explorer wandering through the dark forests or paddling his canoe on unknown rivers; and even the homesteader, with household goods packed in his prairie schooner, has had his exploits chanted in majestic measures; but few have noted that both explorer and homesteader were frequently only the advance agents of the speculator — that the Daniel Boones of the wilderness were the pawns of some Richard Henderson. From the distant date when Jolliet and La Salle led the way into the heart of the great west, up to the present day when far-off Alaska is in the throes of development, big business has been engaged in western speculation. The Mississippi valley has been explored, cleared, and settled in large measure through the enterprise and financial boldness of moneyed men who have staked fortunes in opening up the successive lines of the American frontier.[1]

Naturally enough the British men of vision, like their French predecessors, saw in the territory lying at the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi a site marked by nature as the future home of a prosperous people. One of the first intimations of the British hope of settling this region is found in a pamphlet entitled "Expediency of securing our American colonies by settling the country adjoining the river Mississippi, and the country upon the Ohio, considered," which appeared in Edinburgh in the fall of 1763. The writer advocated the establishment of a province to be called Charlotina, which

[1] As in the case of the previous chapters on the British régime, in writing this I have drawn extensively on my *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, and have avoided the use of numerous footnotes.

should extend from the Ohio and the Mississippi to the Great Lakes, as a protection from French intrigue. Whether or not directly interested in such a scheme, several members of the ministry were ready to take under advisement the possibility of an establishment in the Illinois country. George Croghan, in London on business in the spring of 1764, wrote that a noble minister desired his opinion about erecting a colony in the Illinois. In June when he was called before the board of trade, he urged the project strongly and supported it by a memorial.[2]

Most of the schemes for western development owed their origins to American enterprise; but their framers sought in Great Britain financial backing and political influence. Such schemes found a public eager to invest. Land speculation in America during the eighteenth century was much like oil speculation of the present day: everyone with a few dollars to invest took a flyer in land. Explorers and surveyors were sent out in all directions to select the best regions for the planting of colonies. Company after company sprang into life, conceived in the hope of exploiting some particular region of the great valley.

The first company formed after the treaty of peace to plant a colony in the Illinois country originated in Virginia. The Mississippi Land Company, as it was named, had highly influential backing; among its members were Samuel, George, and John Washington; William, Thomas, Francis, Richard, and Arthur Lee; Henry and William Fitzhugh; Presly Thornton, and Benedict Calvert. There were thirty-eight subscribers to the original agreement of the summer of 1763, but it was planned to raise this number to fifty, taking in some members from England.

On September 9, the company petitioned the crown for a grant of two million five hundred thousand acres bordering the Mississippi and including part of the Illinois country and part of the western portions of the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee.[3] The subscribers pointed out to the ministry

[2] Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period,* 134 ff., 22, 256.

[3] The original articles of the Mississippi Company and its memorial to the crown are printed *ibid.,* 19 ff.

the many good results which would follow such a settlement, emphasizing the possible increase of population, the extension of trade, the enlargement of the revenue, and the establishment of a buffer colony against the alien territory across the Mississippi. This company continued to push its petition before the crown for several years, but without success, for the Virginians with their extensive western claims never found favor in political circles. George Grenville, who was at the head of the ministry when this memorial of the Mississippi Land Company reached London, said that he would never agree to the exploitation of the west by the governor and citizens of any one of the colonies. The territory, in his eyes, was imperial.[4]

The next serious attempt to form a colony in the Illinois country was made by General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut, who proposed forming a colony at the confluence of the Ohio and the Mississippi, with boundaries extending on both sides of the Ohio.[5] There were associated with Lyman many officers and soldiers of the American provincial troops, called the military adventurers, and four thousand three hundred and twenty members of the company formed by Samuel Hazard of Philadelphia in the year 1755 for a somewhat similar purpose. Lyman maintained that inasmuch as these officers had served faithfully through many campaigns they should be provided with grants of land as were the officers of the regular army. His plan was similar to that proposed by Major Thomas Mant for the formation at Detroit of a colony for the officers and soldiers of the provincial troops,[6] but was more comprehensive, as it contemplated the establishment of a series of colonies along the banks of the Mississippi.[7]

The most important plan for the settlement of the Illinois grew out of George Croghan's proposal to the ministry in 1764, already noted. On his return to America, Croghan was sent to the west for the purpose of pacifying the Indians, and

[4] Campbell, *Regulations Lately Made Concerning the Colonies and the Taxes Imposed upon Them, Considered,* 20.

[5] For a proposed colony, of which little is known, see *Lee Papers,* New York Historical Society, *Collections,* 4:214.

[6] The documents in the case are in the Dartmouth manuscripts.

[7] See document published by Alvard and Carter, *The New Regime,* 260 ff.

it was undoubtedly in a conference with Sir William Johnson after his return that the plan for a settlement in the Illinois country was given its next impetus. These two men contrived to induce General Gage — whether consciously or unconsciously on his part is unknown — to further the scheme. The general already had been much impressed by the suggestion that military establishments be maintained beyond the mountains at strategic points, such as Buffalo, Detroit, and Pittsburg, where the settlement of soldiers with families would be sufficient protection against the Indians. He now proposed, on March 28, 1766, a similar military colony for the Illinois country, arguing that it would bring the crown an income and would settle the question of a civil government for the French population. He advised that land in small tracts of from about one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres should be granted immediately to all persons and in amounts of from four hundred to five hundred acres to officers. These lands were to be held from the king on the condition of military service and such other obligations as should be convenient. He wrote: "Till something of this kind shall be done, the French Power will be superior to ours; and I can't fall upon any method to support ourselves against them more efficaciously, and at so little Expence, than what I have taken the Liberty to propose."[8]

The next big step in this speculation was taken in March, 1766, in Philadelphia, perhaps independently of Johnson and Croghan. The men concerned were Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, Joseph Galloway, and John Hughes. Their first plan seems to have been to purchase land from the French. Upon the suggestion of Governor Franklin, however, the scheme was enlarged; and it was decided to petition the government for a grant of one million two hundred thousand acres of land in the Illinois country. Provision was made for twelve shareholders in America, and both George Croghan and Sir William Johnson joined.[9] The boundaries of the colony proposed were to be larger than the grant of land and were to

[8] Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 199.

[9] Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 116 ff. The documents in the case are printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 9: index.

extend from the Wisconsin to the Ohio and from the Wabash to the Mississippi. In return for the concession, the petitioners promised to settle one white Protestant person for every hundred acres received by them.

This proposal Sir William Johnson recommended very strongly to the secretary of state for the southern department. Benjamin Franklin was chosen as agent and joined the company with permission to add "such Gentlemen of Character & Fortune in England as you may think will be likely to promote the Undertaking."[10]

The moment of the arrival of this petition was very favorable since those ministers who, from principles of economy or expediency, were opposed to westward expansion had been supplanted by the progressive ministry of William Pitt, now the Earl of Chatham. The latter was determined to bring about a reorganization of the British empire throughout all its parts. He desired to take from the East India Company the administration of India and turn the profits accruing from that territory into the treasury of the empire. He proposed to democratize colonial government in America, even considering the possibility of substituting for the appointment of governors by the crown the election by the colonists themselves.[11]

Chatham appointed as secretary of state for the southern department the Earl of Shelburne, to whom a free hand in organizing the colonial service was given. Naturally to a man of Shelburne's character the development of the west was of the utmost importance, and he gave the situation very serious consideration. It is not possible to describe his policies in all their ramifications, but in general he disapproved of the tendency toward a centralized control of the west which had been exhibited in the famous plan for the organization of the Indian department, and he sent orders to the two superintendents of Indian affairs to withdraw their commissaries and deputies. The plan that was in the mind of Shelburne would do away with the interference in the Indian trade by imperial officials and place the administration of this important business upon the

[10] April 30, 1766, in Franklin papers, 2:17.

[11] At least his chief supporter, Lord Shelburne, was in favor of such a change.

colonial governments. In the end political pressure obliged the secretary to retain the two superintendents of Indian affairs, but their powers were greatly curtailed.

Lord Shelburne realized that no reforms could be made until he had discovered some means of raising a fund of money without antagonizing the colonists. The attention of politicians had been recently focused upon the west by the proposal that all settlements beyond the mountains should be prohibited and that the troops scattered at widely distant posts should be concentrated in the eastern colonies, where they could be maintained at much less expense, thus leaving the west a wilderness to be used by the Indians as they chose. Such a plan had been almost forced upon the empire by the failure of the stamp tax. Shelburne, unless he should agree to some such policy of retrenchment, must raise money without resorting to colonial taxation.

The solution of this problem was sought in the sale of land by the empire. Shelburne decided to imperialize the land of the west, to cut it up into colonies, and to sell it to those who wished to buy, thinking thus to bring into the imperial treasury a large fund of money which might be expended for the improvement of the old colonies and the founding of new ones. With his intimate friend, Benjamin Franklin, the secretary of state talked over the Philadelphia plan to establish a colony in the Illinois. The proposers of other colonial schemes likewise brought to his attention their plans. Since the idea embodied in these was a part of his own thought, Lord Shelburne incorporated it in his western policy.

When his colleague, Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, proposed in parliament and afterwards in the ministry that the west should be abandoned, Shelburne threw himself into opposition, and by a very interesting document,[12] which he read to the ministry in March, 1767, succeeded in winning his colleagues to his policy. It was later accepted by the king and finally in September, 1767, Shelburne again brought it before the ministers and won their approval. Thereupon he wrote to the board of trade, on October 5, a long let-

[12] This and other documents mentioned below are printed in Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, 536 ff.

ter in which he proposed that colonies should be established at Detroit, in the Illinois country, and on the lower Mississippi.

Shelburne was not permitted to put his policy into operation. In January, 1768, the ministry was reorganized; a new position, the secretaryship for the colonies, was created; and Lord Hillsborough began his sinister direction of American affairs. Under him the transfer of the control of the Indian trade from the empire to the colonies was accomplished. Since the colonies refused to make common regulations, there was practically no governmental control; and the Indians were left to suffer from the greed of the traders. As a result they became increasingly hostile to the colonies, a state of affairs which proved disastrous in the ensuing war.

The policy of running such a boundary line as was proposed by Lord Shelburne in 1763 to separate the white settlements from the Indian hunting grounds was adopted by Lord Hillsborough and it was now established by treaties with the Indians; the treaty affecting the north was made at Fort Stanwix in 1768. The boundary extended from Lake Erie to the Mississippi and opened to immediate settlement the region around Pittsburg. The new secretary, unlike his predecessor, was inclined to view this limit to settlements as permanent; hence he rejected the Shelburne recommendation to establish far western colonies as being contrary to the true policy of the empire. The hopes of the Philadelphia firm and other builders of colonial schemes were thus frustrated. The imperial authority, so far as it could be exercised in the wilds of America, was to be used to prohibit the expansion of settlements into the west.[13]

Meanwhile events in the British empire were developing a spirit of rebellion that ended in the separation of the colonies from the mother country. In the more settled portions of the east, events such as the opposition to the stamp act, to the Townshend taxes, and to the retention of the tax on tea, formed part of the main current which was rushing on to the cataclysm of revolution. Contemporaneously there occurred in the Illinois similar acts of a rebellious character, but seem-

[13] This famous report of Hillsborough is printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 8: 19 ff.

ingly so insignificant were these that historians, with eyes fixed on the main current, have scarcely noted the murmuring of the smaller stream. Yet the events of the prairie and those of the east were impelled by the same force, and the same ideas in which the American Revolution had its source raised the waters to a flood in French Illinois.

The act of Colonel Wilkins in abrogating the court, discussed in the last chapter, aroused the French people to take a decided stand for their rights. Henceforth they ceased to depend on their American associates, whose actions were inspired by selfish motives, and several of whom were connected with speculative schemes of eastern merchants. The French people perceived that their interests would not be advanced by these English-speaking schemers and concluded to make exertions for their own benefit. Although the British ministry had opposed the expansion of the eastern settlements westward, the plan of a purely French colony in the Illinois could be justified by the existence of the villages already there. Such was the reasonable hope of the leading Frenchmen.[14]

With this in mind the French inhabitants, shortly after the downfall of the court, met in an assembly and determined to send a representative to General Gage to make known the situation. The delegate selected was Daniel Bloüin, long connected with Kaskaskia. He was the French merchant who had been chosen by Colonel Reed to supply the rations and was a bitter opponent of George Morgan, who had succeeded in taking his business away from him. Bloüin had never accepted the leadership of the Philadelphian and informed Gage that Morgan had joined Wilkins in terrorizing the people. The French agent chose as his associate in the mission William Clazon, a Frenchman apparently more experienced in English affairs than Bloüin; nothing is known of his past history except that he had spent some time in the eastern colonies and later had gone to the Spanish side of the Mississippi. General Gage described him as being artful and intelligent.

[14] The following narrative is drawn directly from Alvord and Carter, *Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois* [by] *un habitant des Kaskaskias,* publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints, see introduction. Mr. Carter in his *Great-Britain and the Illinois Country,* chapter 7, has followed the same narrative.

The two agents went to New York in 1771 and presented to General Gage on July 9 a memorial of the grievances of the people against the military commandant, praying that a civil government be established. They were not graciously received, but finally Gage condescended to ask for an outline of their plan. Probably the charter of government — Gage speaks of it as a rough outline — had been drawn up by Clazon, who had taken as his model the constitution of Connecticut, the most liberal of the eastern colonies. The proposal was scornfully rejected by the general.

These negotiations opened by the French gave occasion, in 1772, to the publication in Philadelphia of a pamphlet entitled, "Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois," containing the platform of the French party.[15] Aside from its interest as a historical document, it is worthy of notice as the first publication written for western readers by one who called himself a citizen of Illinois, or, as he styled himself, "un habitant des Kaskaskias." It is an exhortation to the Illinois French to win for themselves economic independence, not a hopeless task since they were in possession of land capable of producing everything. An enthusiastic description of the products of the Mississippi valley fills most of the pages of the pamphlet. The author urges his compatriots to lay aside their ill-humor at the introduction by the Americans of new methods in industry. He excuses the delay of king and parliament in establishing civil government on the ground of ignorance of the situation and expresses a hope of relief. He closes with an exhortation that schools be founded so that all the children may be taught to read and write their mother tongue and that some may be able to learn the English language.[16]

Meanwhile the British ministers were considering care-

[15] Only one copy of this pamphlet is known and is owned by the Philadelphia Library Company. It has been reprinted in facsimile by Alvord and Carter, as the fourth publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints, Providence, Rhode Island. It has been translated by Miss Lydia Brauer and printed in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1908, p. 261 ff.

[16] The name of the author is not known. Instinctively the names of Daniel Bloüin and William Clazon occur to the mind, and one of them may have been the author, for they were in the east at the time. Still, the pamphlet may have been written by some other Frenchman, either in the east or the west.

fully some problems very closely affecting the Illinois. The decisions of the government concerning the west did not satisfy all the ministers; and even the most obstinately reactionary one, Lord Hillsborough, was inclined to recur to the subject of the future development of the transmontane territory again and again. In a long letter to General Gage, dated July 31, 1770, he discussed every phase of the western problem.[17] He admitted the commercial and military advantages of the Mississippi valley, but could devise no means of utilizing them that would not prove very costly to the crown without adequate return in trade. In conclusion, the secretary recapitulated his reasons for not changing the policy already promulgated. "Forts and Military Establishments at the Mouths of the Ohio and Illinois Rivers, admitting that they would be effectual to the Attainment of the Objects in view, would yet I fear be attended with an Expence to this Kingdom greatly disproportionate to the Advantages proposed to be gained, and those Objections to Civil Establishments, which I have above stated, do weigh so strongly against that Measure in the Scale both of general and local Policy, as greatly to discourage the Idea."

General Gage was a politician as well as a military man and responded readily to the attitude of his changing superiors. He realized now that Lord Hillsborough was in the ascendancy and begged him to pay no attention "to any Opinions I may have formed heretofore, which a further Consideration, or longer Experience shall have satisfied me to be erroneous."[18] Gage's observation had led him to the belief that forts situated in the Indian country were of little value, either as centers of commerce or as protection against Indian attacks. The nation which controlled the center of trade, whether at the mouth of the St. Lawrence or at that of the Mississippi, must control the country connected with that center. Gage, therefore, in accordance with these principles, argued that the fur country would be sufficiently protected by troops stationed at the mouths of the great avenues of commerce, and he was ready to give up his former opinion of the need of promoting settle-

[17] Hillsborough to Gage, July 31, 1770, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 88, p. 199.

[18] Letter dated November 10, 1770, *ibid.*, p. 327.

ments in the west. These he looked upon as "altogether inconsistent with Sound Policy, for there is little Appearance that the Advantages will arise from it, which Nations expect, when they send out Colonies into foreign countrys." To the argument that there was need of barrier provinces, he answered that since there must always be a frontier, there would always be a demand for barriers beyond. Rather indignantly he writes: "Let the Savages enjoy their Deserts in quiet; little Bickerings that will unavoidably sometimes happen, may soon be accommodated."[19] In the last half of this long and important letter, where the fur trade is discussed, the general points out that, whereas the Canadian trade had already become adjusted to the new conditions, the trade upon the Ohio was always conveyed down the Mississippi, where there were formidable rivals in the French on the Spanish side of the river. It was at this time that Gage gave up his former idea of opening a channel by way of the Iberville river.

The specific problem of a government for the Illinois villages entered into the correspondence, but this problem was closely connected with one nearer the ministerial heart, or rather pocketbook — that of the disposition of troops, and in particular the maintenance of a garrison at Fort de Chartres. Pursuant to the policy of the ministry to curtail expenses wherever possible, Gage was ordered to go over the whole military situation again to determine what posts could be abandoned. Although he had been receiving from the various commanders enthusiastic accounts of the future value of the Illinois country, Gage had become more and more pessimistic in regard to the situation. He agreed with those who wrote that the price of British goods sold there was thirty per cent higher, on account of the long land carriage, than that of the Spanish goods brought from New Orleans. He therefore proposed to the ministry in 1768 that Fort de Chartres be abandoned and that the French inhabitants be gathered into one village, where they could defend themselves by their own militia and govern themselves under some form of local administration.[20]

[19] Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 88, p. 327.

[20] Gage to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, *ibid.*, 86, p. 200. Many letters passed between the two before the final decision of 1771.

Upon receipt of this letter a special committee of the cabinet was appointed to study the situation; but as a war between Spain and Great Britain over the possession of the Falkland Islands was threatening, a decision was postponed till late in 1771. In that year, on December 1, the cabinet discussed the question again. The desire for economy won; General Gage was ordered to demolish Fort de Chartres and Fort Pitt and to withdraw the troops from both places.[21]

The decision to abandon the Illinois fort came from the authorities in London, but there were reasons other than the purely economical one that had weight with General Gage. The site of the fort was not well chosen, as it offered no strategic advantages; and it was in constant danger from the encroachments of the river. In 1770, Gage wrote: "When His Majesty's Troops first took Possession of Fort Chartres, they found a Space of 250 Feet, between the South Bastion and the River, of which, there is only 30 remaining."[22] Furthermore, the place was very unhealthful and the soldiers suffered several severe epidemics; at one time in 1768 "there was but Nineteen Men capable of Duty at Fort Chartris, & every Officer was ill at the same Time. . . . . The Groans & cries of the Sick Was the only Noise to be heard."[23]

Gage's opinion was therefore in accord with the decision of the cabinet. He sent the necessary orders and was soon informed by Major Isaac Hamilton, the successor to the tyrannical and venal Colonel Wilkins, that "he has destroyed Fort Chartres in such a manner that at present it cannot afford the least shelter to an Enemy, & that he removed the stones which protected the banks of the river & opened drains to admit the waters, so that the Floods in the Fall will entirely wash away the front of the Fort."[24] After destroying the fort, Major Hamilton with most of the troops—he left fifty at

[21] Cabinet meeting, December 1, 1771, in Dartmouth manuscripts. Hillsborough to Gage, December 4, 1771, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 89, p. 359.

[22] Gage to Hillsborough, January 6, 1770, *ibid.*, 88, p. 51. See also Hutchins, "Remarks on the Country of the Illinois," in Pennsylvania Historical Society, Hutchins papers, volume 1.

[23] Morgan to partners, October 30, 1768, in Morgan Letter Book.

[24] Gage to Hillsborough, September 2, 1772, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 90, p. 113.

Kaskaskia — hastily departed from the country, carrying the brass cannon with him to Fort Pitt and later to Philadelphia.

The abandonment and destruction of Fort de Chartres did not solve the problem of the French villages, still practically undefended and without civil government. This stubborn fact had even penetrated the minds of a not very intelligent ministry. The committee which had been considering the question for several years had no solution better than the one proposed by Gage in 1768; and in the letter ordering the abandonment of Fort de Chartres he was told to institute some form of local government.[25] It was this command that had caused him to assume the responsibility of leaving a few troops under Captain Hugh Lord at Kaskaskia. He expected that some arrangement for the government would soon be hit upon.

Gage himself took measures to bring about a settlement. After his stormy interview in 1771 with the agents of the Illinois French, Bloüin and Clazon, he had conceived the idea that these two were adventurers and did not represent the opinion of their fellow citizens. He therefore sent with Major Hamilton, when the latter went to the Illinois to destroy Fort de Chartres, a sketch of a simple form of government that he was prepared to inaugurate. This plan contained some popular elements; the governor of the district and a magistrate for each of the villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia and one for the three remaining villages were to be appointed. A grand council to be composed of the governor and five or six councilors elected by the people was also to be formed. Appeals could be made from the individual magistrates of the village to "The Chamber of Kaskaskia," consisting of the three magistrates sitting together, and an appeal could also be made from their decision to the grand council, whose decision must be final. The governor and council were to possess power to pass rules and regulations for the better government of the country and to establish fees and fines. It was estimated that this administration could be maintained at an expense of £309,7s sterling per annum.[26]

[25] Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 89, p. 359.

[26] The original sketch in French is among the Kaskaskia manuscripts. There is also a copy in the British Museum, Additional manuscripts, 21687, copied by the notary public of Kaskaskia, June 13, 1773.

Major Hamilton had been instructed to sound the inhabitants concerning their wishes. Gage evidently expected to discredit the two representatives who had been sent to him, but he did not succeed. In a letter to Gage in August, 1772, Major Hamilton related the result of his inquiry. "According to your Excellency's directions to me I convened the principal inhabitants of the three villages & desired M. Deberniere to talk to them in the manner you desired about some scheme of Civil Government, they were very high on the occasion & expected to appoint their Governor & all other Civil Magistrates, but on being desired to draw up their plan in writing and sign it, they told me that before M. Bloüin left the Country, at a General meeting they had fixed upon a Scheme which Mons. Bloüin was to lay before your Excellency & till he returned & they knew what success he had met with, they could give no answer."[27]

Meanwhile Gage, in despair of the regulation of the Illinois country, had proposed to Lord Hillsborough the withdrawal of the few troops still remaining at Kaskaskia, but Hillsborough was given no opportunity to answer him; the day of his inefficiency was over.[28]

Lord Hillsborough's resignation from Lord North's ministry was due to an issue raised over a purely western question, the establishment of a new colony west of Virginia, to be called Vandalia. The history of this colony does not fall within the scope of this volume, but the principal promoter of the scheme was a man whose name has already become familiar in connection with the history of the Illinois country, Samuel Wharton, a member of the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan in Philadelphia; and it was largely through the machination of this crafty trader that Lord Hillsborough was forced from his position as secretary of state for the colonies.[29]

The successor to Lord Hillsborough was Lord Dartmouth,

[27] Alvord and Carter, *Invitation Serieuse aux Habitants des Illinois*, introduction, 22. Hamilton to Gage, August 8, 1772, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 90, p. 119.

[28] Gage to Hillsborough, September 2, 1772, *ibid.*, 113.

[29] The story of Lord Hillsborough's resignation is told in Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2: chapter 5.

who had been president of the board of trade in 1765. He was in favor of a progressive policy of expansion in the west and was therefore opposed to the measures advocated by Hillsborough and Gage. In one of his first letters to Gage, Dartmouth wrote: "The state of the Illinois District appears to me in every light in which it is viewed to require a very serious Consideration and I will not fail to collect as soon as possible those Informations which may enable me to form a Judgement as well of the Arrangements which have already been made respecting that Country as of those which may be further necessary, considering it in the Light of a Colony of the King's English Subjects."[30]

Gage's proposition to abandon the Illinois was negatived in a cabinet meeting, and Dartmouth instructed him to leave the troops at Kaskaskia to guard the country lying along the Mississippi river, over which the Spanish and French exercised too much influence.[31] In order that he might obtain detailed information of conditions in the region, Dartmouth sent an agent, Jehu Hay, to the Illinois; but before Hay returned with his report, circumstances had forced the ministers to a decision. In their necessity, they had found at last the means to supply the need of a civil government without encouraging settlement in the Old Northwest.

The final decision concerning the future disposal of the territory north of the Ohio river was hastened by an occurrence in the Illinois country which to the ministry seemed portentous. It had its origin in the year 1769, in the activities of the speculative Samuel Wharton. In that year a speculation in the region of the present West Virginia called Wharton to London, where he hoped to obtain official confirmation of a large cession of land made to him and his associates by the Indians. This he did not receive, but he did obtain the following legal opinion from two prominent lawyers, Lord Camden, at the time lord chancellor, and Charles Yorke, shortly to hold the same eminent position: "In respect to such places,

[30] Letter dated November 4, 1772, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 90, p. 145.

[31] Paper indorsed: "Memorandum of business upon which the king's pleasure is to be taken," in Dartmouth manuscripts; Dartmouth to Gage, December 9, 1772, in Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 90, p. 171.

as have been or shall be acquired by Treaty or Grant from any of the Indian Princes or Governments, your Majesties Letters Patents are not necessary, the property of the Soil, Vesting in the Grantee by the Indian Grants, Subject only to your Majesties Right of Sovereignty over the Settlements, as English Settlements, and over the Inhabitants, as English subjects, who carry with them your Majesties Laws Wherever they form Colonies, and receive protection, by virtue of your Royal Charters."[32] The opinion was in no sense an uncommon one. Many public men considered that the Indian nations were sovereign states with full power to dispose of their property, and the British government appeared to acquiesce in this by entering into formal treaties with them.

Wharton kept secret for a time this important opinion, and it was a year or two before it became the common property of speculators in America. General Gage said that he saw a copy of it before June, 1773; and it appears to have been passed around rather freely about that time, with the result that several large land companies were formed to purchase Indian titles.

First to act upon the opinion was the Illinois Land Company. The founders of this association were David Franks and Company of Philadelphia, composed of the men who had been the rivals of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan and had remained in the Illinois after the latter firm had withdrawn. They formed an association and in the spring of 1773 sent their representative, William Murray, to the Illinois country to negotiate a large purchase of land from the Indians. On his arrival Murray showed the opinion of the British lawyers to Captain Lord, who commanded at Kaskaskia. The latter, however, was not overawed by the weighty names and informed Murray that he "should not suffer him to settle any of the lands as it was expressly contrary to his Majestys Orders." In spite of this threat Murray proceeded with his business, of which he gave his partners the following account: "In the month of June, 1773, I held several public conferences with several tribes of the *Illinois Nations* of Indians, at *Kaskaskia* village; to all of which conferences I invited to be pres-

[32] *The Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* (ed. Alvord).

ent, the *British Officers* and all the inhabitants of the place, and a great number attended accordingly." On July 5, he completed the purchase of two large tracts, one lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and the other on the Illinois river.[33]

The members of the Illinois Land Company were all Pennsylvanians; but as they could obtain no assistance in their enterprise from their own colony, on April 19, 1774, they sent a petition to the well-known speculator, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia. From him the company expected to receive not only sympathy but also an authoritative indorsement of their title, for Virginia claimed under its charter the territory included in the Old Northwest.

Probably William Murray, who seems to have taken the initiative in this undertaking, did not expect Dunmore to give his assistance without compensation, for he knew the governor's land hunger; and Dunmore immediately perceived the value of the opinion of Lord Camden and Charles Yorke, which offered him the opportunity to promote his own aims. To satisfy the desires of the governor, Murray created the Wabash Land Company, of which Lord Dunmore and several men from Maryland, Philadelphia, and London became members; and in October, 1775, the company through the agency of a Frenchman, Louis Viviat, purchased from the Indians two tracts of land on the Wabash river.[34]

His reward promised, Lord Dunmore wrote to Lord Dartmouth a most cordial recommendation of the Illinois Land Company: "Whatever may be the Law with respect to the title there are, I think, divers reasons which should induce His Majesty to Comply with the Petition, so far at least as to admit the Petitioners and their Acquisitions, if not into this Government, into Some other. . . . . I cannot then but think, that, Seeing there is no possibility of Setting bounds to the Settlements of the Americans, it would tend most to the

[33] Lord to Haldimand, July 3, 1773, in British Museum, Additional manuscripts, 21730, p. 131; an account of the proceedings of the Illinois and Wabash Land Company in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2: 108; *Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* (ed. Alvord), introduction, 14.

[34] Wharton to Walpole, September 23, 1774, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History*, 33: 444 ff.; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2: 108 ff.

advantage of His Majesty and to preserve the peace and order of the back Countries, that His Majesty should indulge the views of Adventurers, like the present, who willingly conform to Government."[35]

The news of Murray's enterprise in the Illinois country reached London in November, 1773, at the moment when the ministry, headed by Lord North, was bent on making many reforms in its colonial policy and particularly on correcting the evils introduced into the province of Quebec by the establishment of English in place of French law by the proclamation of 1763. For a decade chaotic conditions in this northern colony had cried loudly for reform; besides the question of law, questions of administration, of legislative power, and of religion were still unsettled. Early in August the ministry began its laborious work, and before the end of the year the broad outlines of its bill had been filled in. Then in January, 1774, came the news of the Boston Tea Party; this aroused the reactionaries in the ministry to something like hysteria and occasioned the passing of harsh and vindictive measures to crush the incipient rebellion. Because the finishing touches were given to the Quebec act and it was rushed through parliament during this period of turmoil, historians have frequently misinterpreted the act and have placed it in the same category with the Boston port bill, whereas its main purpose was the alleviation of the wrongs of the alien population of the north.[36]

The Quebec act was utilized by the ministry as a vehicle for the promulgation of a new western policy. The extension of the boundaries of the province of Quebec to include the Old Northwest was the last effort of the mother country to throw the protection of the imperial power over at least a part of the Mississippi valley.

To the ministers the disorders in this region had always appeared very serious, for the most unfavorable descriptions of frontier society were being constantly sent to the govern-

[35] May 16, 1774, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5. 1352, p. 141. In a later letter Dunmore denied that he had any connection with the Illinois Land Company, but he kept discreetly silent about the Wabash Land Company. Dunmore to Dartmouth, December 24, 1774, *ibid.*, 1353, p. 13.

[36] Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution, passim.*

ment by both colonial and English writers. From the beginning of their administration of Indian affairs Sir William Johnson and John Stuart had reported that the fur traders belonged to the lowest classes and were men of unscrupulous character accustomed to practice the meanest tricks on the Indians. When the question of western settlement became a vital issue, the portraits of the pioneers were drawn in lurid hues, which seemed to be justified by accounts of actual occurrences, such as the murders committed in western Pennsylvania by the "Paxton boys" and the outrages reported from the back countries of Virginia and North Carolina. It is well known that many families of sober and earnest character were seeking homes in the west, but the news of their quiet behavior was not reported in London.

Even the men of better education and circumstances seemed often to forget their duty when they passed beyond the bounds of civilization. William Murray's illegal purchase of land in the Illinois country was only too typical an example of western happenings. The Indian boundary line had been established by the empire to regulate the westward march of settlements, but here was a land company without imperial authorization preparing to plant a colony in the midst of the Indian hunting grounds. It was the last sign needed to prove the complete failure of the policy hitherto pursued. Little hope of betterment could be held out under the existing conditions, but orders were immediately sent to the general in command to do all in his power to prevent the carrying out of the designs of the speculators.

With Murray's act still in mind the ministers decided that the perplexing problem of the Illinois country could best be solved by placing the Old Northwest directly under the government of Quebec. This proposal received the support of General Gage, then in England, who saw in its provision for governmental oversight of the villages a point of superiority over his own earlier plan. An energetic defender of the Quebec act wrote, after describing the ills suffered by the French in these distant villages: "In this situation and under these circumstances what better can be done than to annex this country to Quebec, and subject the whole to the jurisdiction of

that colony, to which the only lawful settlers in it were originally subject, and whose language, manners, inclination and religion, are the same—a colony, that under the provision of this bill, will have authority competent to every object that requires regulation and reform, both in respect to Indian Affairs, and the care and concern of the subordinate districts."[37]

The government outlined under the Quebec act for these districts was later provided in instructions to Governor Guy Carleton, dated January 3, 1775.[38] A lieutenant governor or superintendent was to be appointed for each of the communities in the Illinois, Vincennes, Mackinac, and Detroit. For the administration of the law the following provisions were made: "That besides the foregoing Courts of Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction for the Province at large, there be also an Inferior Court of Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction in each of the Districts of the Illinois, St. Vincenne, Detroit, Missilimakinac, and Gaspée, by the Names of the Court of King's Bench for such district, to be held at such times, as shall be thought most convenient, with Authority to hear and determine in all Matters of Criminal Nature according to the Laws of England, and the Laws of the Province hereafter to be made and passed; and in all Civil matters according to the Rules prescribed by the aforesaid Act of Parliament."[39] Over each of the courts there was to preside a judge who should be a natural born subject, with a Canadian assistant whose powers were limited to the giving of advice. From these district courts an appeal might be taken to the governor and council, and thence if necessary to the king in council.

The ministry believed that the extension of French law to the Old Northwest would be a deterrent to settlement by the English-speaking colonists. Such attempts as that of William Murray and his associates, it was hoped, would in this way be prevented.

A third weighty reason for the extension of the boundaries was the regulation of the fur trade. The failure of the colonies to agree upon some form of general administration of

[37] *Appeal to the Public, Stating and Considering the Objections to the Quebec Bill*, 50.

[38] Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, 419 ff.

[39] *Ibid.*, 423.

the Indian trade had resulted in the development of intolerable conditions in the region west of the mountains. Both Lord Hillsborough and Lord Dartmouth had reached the conclusion that the only method of correcting the existing evils was by an act of parliament. The Quebec bill offered the means. The Old Northwest produced in abundance the finest of furs. By placing this territory under such a government as was provided for Quebec, the necessary regulations could be made. The original purpose of the framers of the proclamation of 1763 had been to control the fur trade by an imperial administration, and a plan had been actually formulated; but the outcry against the stamp act had prevented its introduction, and consequently the Indian trade was left without proper oversight. The region between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers was now placed in the Canadian province "with the avowed purpose of excluding all further settlement therein, and for the establishment of uniform regulations for the *Indian* trade."[40]

The question of preserving the fur trade was becoming more and more vital. Every extension of settlement meant the loss of fur producing country and brought an outcry from the fur traders. British firms which were marketing Canadian furs likewise resisted settlement and favored more extensive boundaries for the province of Quebec. On December 31, 1773, their correspondents in Canada asserted that "if the Province is not restored to its antient Limits and the parts which have been dismembered from it reunited to that Government to which nature points they should belong, and all be put under some salutary and well judged Regulations, The Morals of the Indians will be debauched, and the Fur-Trader as well as the Winter Seal Fishery for ever lost not only to this Province but to Great Britain, as neither can be carried on to advantage but by the Inhabitants of Canada."[41] The Scotch had been particularly aggressive in Canada and already were beginning to engross the trade, and in all probability their interests were promoted by the Scotch members of parliament, whose support was always courted by the ministry.

[40] Knox, *Justice and Policy of the Late Act of Parliament*, 36 ff.

[41] Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, 351; see 350, note 3.

The peltry trade was discussed in paragraph thirty-two of the instructions sent to Governor Carleton of Quebec. The governor was informed that the trade should be free to all British subjects provided licenses were obtained from any of the governors "under penalties to observe such Regulations, as shall be made by Our Legislature of Quebec for that purpose."[42] There was sent to Governor Carleton a copy of the former plan for the organization of the trade, which, he was instructed, should serve him "as a guide in a variety of cases, in which it may be necessary to make provision by law for that important branch of the American commerce." Thus the ministry returned to the former plan of imperializing at least a part of the west. Trading posts were to be established, tariffs fixed, and the sale of spirituous liquors regulated by imperial officers under orders from the government of Canada.

The imperial plan was never inaugurated by the government of Quebec, since it did not lend itself to the exigencies of the fur trade as it was being developed in the north, but the union of the Old Northwest and Canada and the subsequent outbreak of war between the colonies and the mother country had far-reaching consequences. Without competitors the northern merchants easily won the confidence of the Indians and engrossed the trade of the Great Lakes region, and following the call of profit their agents appeared in the Illinois country. This ascendancy won by the Canadians over the Indians and the trade affected for a generation the development of the territory north of the Ohio river.

[42] Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents of Canada*, 428.

XV. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WEST

WHILE events portrayed in the previous chapter were unfolding in far-off Illinois, a series of dramatic happenings on the seaboard culminated in a rebellion of the American colonies against the mother country. No discussion of the specific issues leading to the American Revolution is necessary here; sufficient is the knowledge that two systems of government apparently antagonistic in character had developed; the men with a vision of empire who controlled the destinies of America and Great Britain desired a closer relation of the periphery with the center, a greater centralization of power; whereas amid the primitive conditions of America, far removed from the mother country, there had grown up a system of local self-government joined by the loosest of bonds to the central power. Every attempt to extend the imperial control over the colonies, therefore, awakened an antagonism little understood at Westminster. The attempt to tax the colonies by the stamp act was met with an outburst of protest from New England to Georgia; and there followed, with the characteristically English love of a phrase, a long and acrimonious discussion of the question of taxation without representation, a discussion involving the issue of the relation of colonies to the mother country wherein the two parties found themselves in hopeless disagreement over vital principles. The Townshend taxes of 1767 gave rise to a similar discussion and similar complaints by the colonies of their oppression by the empire.

During this heated and long-continued debate, the attitude of many of the British politicians can be characterized only as puerile. The spirit of economy prevailing in many circles was accompanied by a pettiness which is frequently associated with parsimony in administration. The conception of the Townshend taxes; unstatesmanlike as it was, was wisdom when compared with the childish idea of retaliation exhibited in the retention of the irritating tax on tea which furnished the immediate occa-

sion of the outbreak of hostilities. The words of scorn shouted by Colonel Barré against the ministerial party were justified: "A few years ago, the genius of a minister, supported by your fleets and armies, set you at the head of the world. The East and West Indies were in your hands: your infant hands were not able to grasp the world. Instead of that, you have been pursuing small criminals; instead of giving law to the world, you have, like the Roman emperor, been staying at home, catching and torturing flies."[1]

Extremists were found on both sides of the controversy—some were irreconcilables of noble and lofty ideals who abhorred even honorable compromise. The refusal of the colonials to take the tea, accompanied in cases by acts of aggression, provoked the parliament of Great Britain to a fit of anger; severe punitive laws passed against Massachusetts called the other colonies to its support. Inevitably, war followed. For seven years the thirteen colonies fought gallantly against the mother country; then the war was finally won with the assistance of France and Spain, freeing from external control a large portion of North America.

While the narrative of the eastern campaigns and battles of the Revolutionary War does not belong in the story of Illinois, certain events connected with the revolutionary success did touch the territory with no uncertain force. To the leaders both of the revolting colonies and of Great Britain the importance of controlling the west was evident; and with the opening of the war, measures were taken by both countries to secure the advantage there.

Previous to the outbreak of the war, thousands of settlers were traversing the mountains and marking out for themselves homes in the wilderness. Pittsburg soon became a village with a considerable number of cabins, and a large number of settlers found their way down the Ohio, pausing momentarily at the Great Kanawha, the imperial limit to settlement; but soon this paper barrier was passed, and by 1773, communities of Americans were established in western Kentucky, and Louisville was laid out, although not settled.

[1] Cavendish, *Debates of the House of Commons, during the Thirteenth Parliament*, 1:499.

This period of active occupation of the hinterland was closed temporarily by the outbreak in 1774 of Lord Dunmore's War, an Indian war fought by Virginia troops for Virginia's rights to the west in defiance of imperial regulations. Its cause was land speculation, and its results would have brought to the Old Dominion western opportunity but for the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.[2] As it was, the Indians were subdued by the fray for a short period, during which there occurred a large immigration of Virginians and Pennsylvanians into the region south of the Ohio river. Their migration was promoted greatly by the operations of a skillful land speculator, Richard Henderson, who in company with several North Carolinians purchased from the Cherokee, in the name of the Transylvania Company, a large tract of land west of the Kentucky river. Henderson was not successful in retaining the title to the purchase, but his enterprise attracted many settlers into the forbidden territory.[3]

While Kentucky was thus being filled up, settlers were going farther afield. Following the course of the Ohio and Mississippi, they made their homes at Natchez and in other regions of West Florida. Thus during these first years of the war settlements were being scattered along the banks of the Ohio and down the Mississippi.

These home seekers in the far country were not necessarily sympathetic with the cause of the colonies; on the contrary, a large proportion of them emigrated to the west to avoid participation in the issue. The settlements in Natchez and other parts of West Florida were for the most part tory in their sympathies and at times made active opposition to the revolting colonies. Tories were also in Kentucky, where the British authorities easily found agents for their secret operations.[4] Still, the majority of the settlers in the Kentucky region, independent in character and readily aroused by patriotic speeches,

[2] For a discussion of this see Alvord, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, 2:188 ff.

[3] Henderson, "Richard Henderson and the Occupation of Kentucky, 1775," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 1:341 ff.

[4] Siebert, "Loyalists in West Florida," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 2:465; and the same author, "Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 28:3 ff.; Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, *passim*.

were prepared to make some sacrifice for the patriotic cause.

Across the Ohio extended the region that had been added to the province of Quebec, where few American settlers had located; to this the colonies could make little claim. Far into the north stretched the wilderness, its solemn stillness broken here and there by the chatter of a few Frenchmen at Vincennes, in the Illinois villages, Detroit, and other small posts. Through these woodlands and prairies with their primeval quiet practically undisturbed by the activities of land speculators or the noise of home seekers' axes, the savages roamed at will, hunting the game and carrying the furs to the best market they could find, Detroit or Mackinac rather than Pittsburg.

The Indians were incensed at the rapid settlement of Kentucky. In the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 they had agreed to the establishment of a boundary line between their hunting grounds and the settlements, a boundary which was to prevent the raising of white cabins west of the Great Kanawha river. It is true that by the manipulation of land speculators the Iroquois confederacy had ceded its contested title to the Kentucky region, and by a similar manipulation of Virginians the definite line at the mouth of the Great Kanawha had been juggled; yet most of the western tribes were not reconciled to these changes and looked upon the inroads of the whites as a breaking of sacred pledges. The natives, comparing the quiet of the Great Lakes with the avid rush for land south of the Ohio, in the crisis of war turned for friendship to the British officials and unloosed their hatred on the intruders on the land over which they had hunted from time immemorial.

In the territory north of the Ohio river one village of white men dominated. This was Detroit, which, since its foundation in 1701, had been the center of the western fur trade and was destined to maintain its supremacy throughout the period of the Revolutionary War and for a few years afterwards. In accordance with the provisions of the Quebec act and the instructions to Governor Guy Carleton, the village received a civil government for the first time since 1763. The lieutenant governor chosen for this far western village, the storm center of the western war, was Henry Hamilton, a man of amiable

character, but weak and tactless. To assist him there were appointed the requisite judges. A similar administration was established at Mackinac. It had been the purpose of the ministers that like reforms in the civil government should be inaugurated at Vincennes and in the Illinois country. A lieutenant governor, Edward Abbott, actually did go to Vincennes for a few weeks in 1777;[5] but the official appointed for the Illinois country, Matthew Johnson, never made an effort, so far as is known, to perform the duties of his position in the village of Kaskaskia, with the result that the villages of the American Bottom were left practically without legal government.[6]

Dr. John Connolly, who had been the agent of Virginia's governor, Lord Dunmore, in his land speculations in the west, was the first to realize the possibilities of a western campaign against the colonies. He laid his proposals before Lord Dunmore, who sent him to consult with General Gage at Boston. There a plan was adopted to concentrate British forces at Detroit, to which place the troops remaining at Kaskaskia were to withdraw, and to open a campaign with an attack on Pittsburg. After securing the upper Ohio valley the force was to invade Virginia and unite with Dunmore at Alexandria. The plan failed; the occupation of Canada by the Americans made it too dangerous for Connolly to make his way to Detroit via Quebec. Attempting to return to Virginia and to reach the northwest by way of Pittsburg, he was taken prisoner and carried to Philadelphia. From here he attempted to send letters to Captain Hugh Lord at Kaskaskia, ordering him in the name of General Gage to make his escape down the Mississippi to Mobile, but again he was foiled; his messenger was taken prisoner, and his letter sent to the continental congress.[7]

Connolly's plan of an attack from Detroit on the back settlements of the colonies in order to separate the north from the south was well conceived; but instead of taking any such decisive military action the inefficient ministers controlling the

[5] Dunn, *Indiana*, 81.

[6] Matthew Johnson was drawing his salary as lieutenant governor of the Illinois country even after that country had been occupied by Virginia troops.

[7] These letters are printed in Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, 4: 617; see also *Narrative of the Transactions, Imprisonment, and Sufferings of John Connolly;* Siebert, "Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, 28: 6.

destinies of the British empire preferred to adopt as their own the irritating and petty plans of Henry Hamilton, who, on September 2, 1776, proposed sending on the warpath numerous bands of Indians to worry the frontiers. On learning of the acceptance of his proposal, Hamilton called a grand council of Indians at Detroit; here he received assurances of the coöperation of one thousand warriors, whose activities gave to the year 1777 the sinister name of the "bloody year." Fifteen war bands were soon let loose upon the west. Two hundred warriors invaded Kentucky, expecting to cut off the settlers at Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and Logan's Station. They failed.

Thus was inaugurated the Indian war in the west. Fighting was almost constant. Outlying settlements were suddenly attacked and burned to the ground. Brave efforts were made by the frontiersmen to ward off the danger, and many a harrowing tale of adventure was added to the romance of western settlement during these years of the Revolutionary War. Indian attacks, fire, the murder of pioneers, and the capture of women and children aroused the west against the British and turned the hearts of some who still had tory leanings against the authorities that employed such methods in carrying on the war.

Many loyal subjects of Great Britain realized the error of employing the Indians. Governor Abbott of Vincennes protested vigorously against the policy. "This is too shocking a subject to dwell upon. . . . . It is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack, but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, & who are inhumanly butchered sparing neither women or children."[8] Hamilton believed, however, that he could control the barbarous emotions of his allies. He asserted that gifts were given to the Indians on "every proof of obedience they shew, in sparing the lives of such as are incapable of defending themselves."[9] His hope was baseless. Many acts of cruelty and barbarism occurred, and public opinion among the Americans has always held Hamilton responsible, maintaining that he paid

[8] Letter of June 8, 1778, in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 46.
[9] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 9:465.

into the palms of the Indians money promised for the scalps brought in.[10] His name was execrated by contemporaries and later by historians — without careful and impartial investigation — and is held today in popular memory with the stigma of the "hair buyer."

The colonies as well as the Canadian officials realized the importance of securing the coöperation of the western Indians or, failing in this, their neutrality. To promote their cause the continental congress divided the west into three Indian districts, the northern, middle, and southern, appointing three commissioners over each, and an agent to carry out the necessary operations. The agent selected for the middle territory with headquarters at Pittsburg was George Morgan, who through his former business activities in Kaskaskia was well acquainted with the Indians and French of the region. He arrived at Pittsburg on May 16, 1776, and his first negotiations with the tribes appeared hopeful. At a conference with 644 warriors of the Six Nations and neighboring tribes, he was assured that the Indians would keep "inviolate the peace and neutrality they have engaged in with the *United States.*"[11] The remembrance of their chastisement by the Virginians during Dunmore's War still lingered with them, and fear forced their friendship. Frequently during these first months of war their chiefs visited Fort Pitt and imparted timely warning of projected attacks.

The western Indians had not yet been thoroughly aroused by the British. In the long years that followed, however, the Indian commissioners found that they had little to offer as a counterbalance to their enemy's influence. They said that traders were coming, but British traders had packs loaded with goods already opened at Detroit, St. Joseph, and Mackinac; they promised gifts from the continental congress, but Lieutenant Governor Hamilton was loading the Indians with pres-

[10] Morgan Letter Book, 3, March 20, 1778, contains the testimony of one Daniel Sullivan to the effect that he had heard the story from one who personally saw Hamilton pay money for scalps. Of course the money may have been paid for some other purpose. In January, 1778, Hamilton reported to General Carleton that the Indians had brought in seventy-three prisoners and one hundred and thirty-nine scalps. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 9:431.

[11] Morgan to president of congress, November 8, 1776, in Force, *American Archives,* fifth series, 3:600.

ents; they assured the Indians that the continental congress had prohibited settlement west of the Indian boundary line, but the natives pointed to the pioneers who were spreading their cabins over the fertile land of Kentucky, in striking contrast to the British north, where there was no similar rush of settlers.[12]

Had the frontiersmen carefully guarded the friendship of the Indians in their neighborhood, the problem of western defense would have been easier; but self-control could not be expected from "a wild ungovernable race, little less savage than their tawny neighbors; and by similar barbarities have in fact provoked them to revenge."[13] So a contemporary described the men of the border. In the autumn of 1777 the Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, and three of his tribe, who had been particularly friendly to the Americans, while detained as hostages in Fort Randolph were murdered by the frontiersmen. The Shawnee promptly abandoned neutrality and began making vicious attacks on the settlements of Kentucky and Virginia.

Just as the British made Pittsburg their principal objective, so the Americans turned their attention to the conquest of Detroit. The first plan for such an operation was proposed by Arthur St. Clair, years later to be governor of the Northwest Territory. He desired to lead a volunteer expedition of five hundred men against the village and asked that ammunition be supplied by the confederated colonies. The proposal was seriously discussed in congress but was not adopted.[14]

Morgan, always impatient of delay, felt the need of action. He sent a memorial to the continental congress advising that troops be sent to Pittsburg and an expedition launched against the center of the enemy's power in the west. He entered into negotiations with both French and English in Detroit, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes, hoping to arouse in them a feeling of resentment that would lead to hearty coöperation against the British administration. He was confident that the French

[12] Act of congress, April 29, 1776, in *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Library of Congress), 4:318.

[13] Pickering to Washington, May 19, 1778, in Washington manuscripts, in Library of Congress. See also Kellogg, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, 55.

[14] Force, *American Archives*, fourth series, 3:717; Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 1:15.

people were friendly and that Detroit was in a defenseless state. He asserted that with the fall of Detroit the Indian nations would be induced by fear and interest to enter into an alliance with the American people. For the realization of the project he urged congress to raise between twelve and fifteen hundred regular troops and such other volunteers as would join the force.[15] Morgan's hopes were unfulfilled; the continental congress had no money and no men to spare for such a difficult and distant military operation.

The critical situation in the west during the year 1777, when Major Hamilton had launched his plan, compelled some attention to Morgan's words, and General Edward Hand was sent to Pittsburg as commander; he arrived there on June 1, but unfortunately was without adequate supplies and troops. Hand found that among the pioneers dissension, even insurrection, was rife as a result of a proclamation which Hamilton had sent throughout the west, calling upon the people to submit to King George, to escape the heavy penalty of rebellion, and to enjoy the mercy of a benign monarch.

Hand made such plans as he could for military resistance by erecting forts and blockhouses. Fort Pitt was rebuilt. In February of 1778 an expedition set out to make reprisals, but was prevented by a rise of waters from progressing far into the interior. Another invasion of the Indian territory was planned for later in the year. Hand had come to realize, however, that he was ill fitted for these western campaigns and asked to be relieved of the command. His request was granted and General Lachlan McIntosh, more aggressive and better equipped to take the offensive, was appointed in his place.[16]

The campaign planned by General Hand was opened in June with five hundred men under General McIntosh. The impossibility of securing the necessary men, horses, and provisions caused the abandonment of the original objective, Detroit, and the expedition did not go beyond Fort Pitt. Here McIntosh tried to raise more men for the invasion of the Indian

[15] Morgan Letter Book, 3.

[16] The above account is drawn from Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, introduction, with something from James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, introduction, xiv.

territory. Though little was accomplished, McIntosh secured by forts the territory that he occupied; Fort McIntosh was built at the mouth of Beaver creek, thirty miles below Pittsburg; and in October, Fort Laurens, seventy miles farther on. The season then being far advanced, General McIntosh returned to Pittsburg.[17] Detroit was not to be endangered from the east.

Meanwhile the Illinois country had been left under the control of the kindly Captain Hugh Lord, who had remained at Kaskaskia after the abandonment of Fort de Chartres in 1772. He fortified the Jesuits' house, called Fort Gage, with cannon from the older fort.[18] His establishment was small, requiring for all necessities an annual expenditure of only £161 sterling. Lord possessed sufficient tact to keep the French contented with their lot. He evidently had the sense to follow the advice of his superiors and not to mix in the petty disputes of the people, whom he permitted to straighten out their own quarrels by arbitrators; at any rate, no more was heard of the demand for a civil government. Captain Lord even reported that the people made no answer to his inquiry as to their wishes in the matter, and he was of the opinion that they would take no steps that might occasion the withdrawal of the garrison, their best market.[19]

Since the Quebec act provided for a civil government of the Illinois, it was planned to recall Captain Lord immediately, and the payment for an officer in the district was crossed off the military account. The outbreak of hostilities in the east, however, upset all plans, and the troops were permitted to remain at Kaskaskia. The early success of the American invasion of Canada later necessitated the assembling of all the British resources. Governor Carleton accordingly recalled Captain

[17] Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-1778*, p. 29, note; *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Library of Congress), 11:720; James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, XLIX.

[18] Fort Gage was in the village and was not the French fort on the bluffs, the remains of which are today erroneously called Fort Gage. In writing this chapter I have borrowed from my introductions to the *Cahokia Records* and the *Kaskaskia Records*. Besides these two volumes many documents justifying my interpretation will be found in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*.

[19] Lord to Gage, September 3, 1773, in Public Archives of Canada, B, 71:1; Haldimand to Lord, October 24, 1773, *ibid.*, 33:130.

Lord, who in the spring of 1776 left his post and made his way to Detroit.[20]

Before leaving, he chose as the agent of the British government in these western villages Philippe François de Rastel, chevalier de Rocheblave, the son of the Marquis de Rocheblave, seignioral lord of Savournon of the province of Dauphiné in southeastern France. Philippe, who had already seen service in France, and his brother arrived in New Orleans in 1751 and were immediately inducted into the military department of the French colony, Philippe receiving first an ensignship, then, a few months later, a lieutenancy.[21] During the French and Indian War he saw service along the Pennsylvania and New York borders, serving probably against General Braddock, and certainly in the Niagara campaign. He was in 1760 in command of Fort Massiac.[22] In 1763 he married at Kaskaskia Michel Marie Dufresne, and at the time of the occupation of the Illinois country by the British he crossed to the Spanish bank, where he became commander of Ste. Genevieve. Some time in the seventies he left the Spanish service and reëstablished himself in Kaskaskia.[23]

Throughout his life in the west he revealed a nature rejoicing in violent action, avaricious, rather quarrelsome, and delighting in secret intrigue. Toward the close of the French and Indian War the governor of Louisiana accused him of being the "correspondent of the cabal that extends its venom up to the Illinois."[24] While Rocheblave was commanding at Ste. Genevieve he learned that the Jesuit Father Meurin, finding no support at New Orleans for his mission, had appealed to the bishop of Quebec and the British commandant on the western bank for assistance; angered he declared: "I know no English bishop here, and in a post where I command, I wish no ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognized except that of the

[20] Mason, "British Illinois — Rocheblave Papers," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, 4:366, 407; Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 162.

[21] Vaudreuil to the minister, January 28, 1752, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 36:54; D2C, 3:1.

[22] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:213.

[23] Legal action against him was begun in the Spanish court in October, 1773.

[24] Kerlérec to the minister, July, 1762, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13A, 43:23.

Archbishop of St. Domingo." A decree was therefore issued for the arrest of the father, who was warned by a friend and escaped across the river. From Ste. Genevieve Rocheblave continued his intrigues with the Indians, attempting to stir them up against the British; he even sent belts with insidious messages to his dusky friends. The severance of his connection with the Spanish government was due to a quarrel leading to legal action from which he took refuge on the British shore about 1773.[25]

The picture of Rocheblave gleaned from the records is not altogether pleasing. But he had an intimate knowledge of the western French and the Indians and had acquired a dislike and a deep-seated suspicion of the Spaniards. His ambition led him to give his best service to his new employers, and they in turn had confidence in his abilities and willingness to serve them. On August 13, 1777, Carleton wrote: "His abilities and knowledge of that part of the country recommended him to me as a fit person." Major Hamilton wrote of him: "I shall in my correspondence with Mr. de Rocheblave keep alive the hopes of his being Governor of New Orleans — a more active and intelligent Person is not to be found in This Country of ignorant Bigots, and busy rebels, and had he the means I doubt not of his curbing their insolence and disaffection."[26]

Hamilton's intimation of Rocheblave's limitations was correct enough, for although the inhabitants treated him as commandant and judge, his powers as agent were inadequate and the money allowed him was insufficient to enable him to accomplish what he saw was necessary for the British cause. Time and again he was informed that he could draw only for his salary and that his expenses were to be met by money which the commandant at Vincennes could allow him, and this was practically nothing.[27]

Thrown upon his native wit and the resources of the terri-

[25] Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll,* 120; Mason, "British Illinois — Rocheblave Papers," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection,* 4:346; the whole article may be consulted with profit. Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime,* 483.

[26] Alvord, *Cahokia Records,* 2:xxvi.

[27] The more important documents concerning Rocheblave are printed by Mason in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection,* volume 4; other information may be found in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* volumes 3, 5, 9, 19.

tory over which he ruled, Rocheblave attempted to prepare for the struggle which he saw was inevitable. The principal basis for the continuance of his power and that of Great Britain must be a favorable public opinion, and this he tried to build up. In order to promote common action in the suppression of the dangerous liquor trade with the Indians, he convened a meeting of the people, in which the great majority agreed in behalf of the common interest to act together in matters touching Indian affairs and financial relations and to forgo the advantages of the liquor trade with the Indians. Still Rocheblave's chief reliance was on the personal influence of individuals. The man who stood out most conspicuously as his supporter was Jean Gabriel Cerré, at the time forty-four years old and a citizen of Kaskaskia since boyhood. He was one of the wealthiest men of the community and through his personality and commercial connections exercised over the villagers an influence second only to that of the commandant.[28] Other men in well-to-do circumstances, such as Louis Viviat, the purchaser of the Wabash Land Company, were to be found in the party of Rocheblave, but the latter's principal reliance was on the lesser folk, or the *habitants*. Illiterate and unintelligent, they had been trained in the school of obedience, were willing to accept conditions as they found them, and were innocent of revolutionary inclinations.

Opposed to the party of Rocheblave were the supporters of the cause of the colonies. Although the various British firms operating in the Illinois had not succeeded in their business enterprises and the majority of traders had left the country, still their mark upon the French society of the villages remained. The Illinois country had been brought by them into close connection with English-speaking society and with world affairs in general. Furthermore, many traders with colonial connections had been left as flotsam and jetsam of the trading flood tide to continue their enterprises in this far western land. Among these may be noted the two Murray brothers, William and Daniel, who were largely responsible for putting through the great land speculation of the Illinois and Wabash Land

[28] Douglas, "Jean Gabriel Cerré," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 8:275 ff.

Companies. Both these men were distinctly American in their feeling, and William Murray devoted both time and money to the cause of the revolting colonies. His interests, being both in Pennsylvania and in Virginia, kept him in touch with public opinion in the east, and he was prepared to act whenever the opportunity should offer.

Some time just previous to the outbreak of the American Revolution an Englishman established his permanent home at Kaskaskia. This was Thomas Bentley, whose early career is shrouded in obscurity. He came to West Florida from London, probably soon after the French and Indian War, and established at Manchac a store as a center for trading up and down the Mississippi. Not before the seventies did he transfer his headquarters to Kaskaskia; at least his name does not appear in the early British records. From his first appearance in the Illinois he managed a successful and profitable business. In 1777 he married Marguerite Bauvais, a daughter of one of the richest and most important French families in the community, thereby establishing his position both financially and socially in the Illinois country.

Bentley was primarily a merchant, seeking first of all business prosperity, which would no doubt have been his had not the war between the colonies and Great Britain ensnared him in intrigue, in which his nature found its greatest pleasure. In this he was actuated mainly by motives of his own interest, and he attempted to play off the British against the Americans for profit. So adept was he in double-dealing and so careful to cover all traces of his duplicity, that it is difficult at times to follow his machinations; but it is evident that he soon became the leader of the opposition to Rocheblave.[29]

The English-speaking merchants and others who were associated with them kept up a continual intercourse with their eastern compatriots and were fully informed of events on the seacoast. Among themselves they talked openly of the revolutionary movement and even indulged in propaganda among their French fellow citizens. So successful were they that most of the officers of the militia in Kaskaskia and Cahokia were

[29] An account of Thomas Bentley and his operations may be found in the introduction to Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 2: XVI ff.

prepared to receive in a friendly manner any American troops that might be sent to them.[30]

Rocheblave never deceived himself in regard to the weakness and the danger of his position and several times urged Governor Carleton to send a commandant and British troops to the Illinois, but the governor of Quebec had neither the troops nor the money to spare. Hopeless Rocheblave's position seemed: he was surrounded by men, both English and French, sympathetic with the cause of the American patriots; he knew that messages were constantly passing between the representatives of the rebels — George Morgan, for instance — and the villagers; the latter were promised more than once that troops would be sent from Pittsburg, and even the date of their arrival was fixed for the winter of 1777–1778. This intercourse between the French villagers and the Americans increased when the Kaskaskia merchants established a profitable trade with the new settlers in Kentucky. Furthermore, Rocheblave was particularly suspicious of the Spanish commandant, who was intriguing among the French and the Indians against the British government.

In later years Rocheblave attributed to the intrigues of Thomas Bentley the subsequent loss of the Illinois country by Great Britain. According to his story, Bentley, in the spring of 1777, sent boats to the Ohio river to sell supplies to a crew of Americans returning with cargoes of munitions and other merchandise purchased by the colonies at New Orleans. At this meeting, Bentley's agent gave full information concerning the conditions existing in the Illinois villages, and at that time the plan of seizing them was first conceived.[31] The British agent's suspicions were sufficiently well established to lay the foundation of an action against Bentley, who was made prisoner while on a journey to Mackinac, was carried to Quebec, and incarcerated for several years.

Rocheblave dwelt constantly in fear of the expected attack

[30] For proof of this see the introduction to Alvord, *Cahokia Records;* also *Kaskaskia Records,* introduction.

[31] For proof of Bentley's participation see *ibid.,* XVI ff. At the time of writing this introduction I stated that the evidence furnished only a hypothesis, but later thought on the subject has led me to believe that the logic of events furnishes real proof.

of the colonists. Letter after letter he sent to Detroit beseeching assistance. "We are upon the eve of seeing here," he wrote, "a numerous band of brigands who will establish a chain of communication which will not be easy to break, once formed." When he wrote these words the "brigands" under George Rogers Clark were ready to spring upon him.

George Rogers Clark, whose name is inseparably connected with Illinois history, was at the time of his famous expedition only twenty-six years of age. Of commanding appearance and of extraordinary courage, he possessed that personal magnetism characteristic of great leaders. He took pride in his likeness to George Washington, and there is in his portraits a calmness of countenance and a self-confidence strikingly similar to his great contemporary. His past experience had been that of a typical pioneer. In June, 1772, he made an exploring expedition on the Ohio as far west as the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Here he brought his father and friends. He was one of those who accompanied Captain Cresap on his expedition against the Shawnee, and in Dunmore's War he served with many other noted leaders and land speculators of the west. Schooled in surveying, he was engaged by the Ohio Company to locate land and to assist in laying out a town on the Kentucky river. There he came into contact with Richard Henderson's Transylvania Company, which had bought from the Cherokee all western Kentucky. Clark had been associated always with Virginia speculators and was naturally opposed to this seizure of the land by a North Carolina company. He was one of the leaders in arousing the people to opposition, and at Harrodsburg (June 6, 1776) he was appointed one of the two agents to carry a petition to Virginia begging that colony to throw its protection over this far western territory. After a difficult journey through the wilderness the two men presented the memorial to the governor, with the result that Kentucky was finally created a county. Clark was appointed major of the militia; upon him fell the duty of protecting the new settlements against the attacks of the Indians.[32]

The problem of defending Kentucky offered many diffi-

[32] For documents substantiating the above see James, *George Rogers Clark Papers, passim,* and English, *The Conquest of the Old Northwest.*

culties, since it was separated from the main source of supplies by a wilderness difficult to traverse. Still a defense must be prepared, for across the Ohio river was the breeding ground of the Indian marauders. Clark's nature always led him to choose the policy of the attacking party rather than that of the patient defender. To him it appeared clearly that the bold course of invading the Old Northwest was the better strategy. The report of the defenseless condition of the Illinois obtained from Thomas Bentley pointed to the best objective. The Illinois villages and Vincennes were the outposts of Detroit; and if they fell there would be the possibility of an attack upon the village on the lake. Probably following Bentley's suggestion, Clark sent two spies to Kaskaskia in June, 1777; they failed to get in touch with Bentley's friends but brought back complete corroboration of the defenseless state of the villages. In their opinion, however, the principal inhabitants were opposed to the Americans.[33]

On December 10, 1777, Clark presented his plan to Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, and George Wythe were taken into consultation, and all gave their approval, promising to obtain from the legislature three hundred acres of land for each man enlisting in the expedition if it were successful. The council of Virginia voiced its approval on January 2, and the assembly gave its consent as to a measure for the protection of the county of Kentucky.[34]

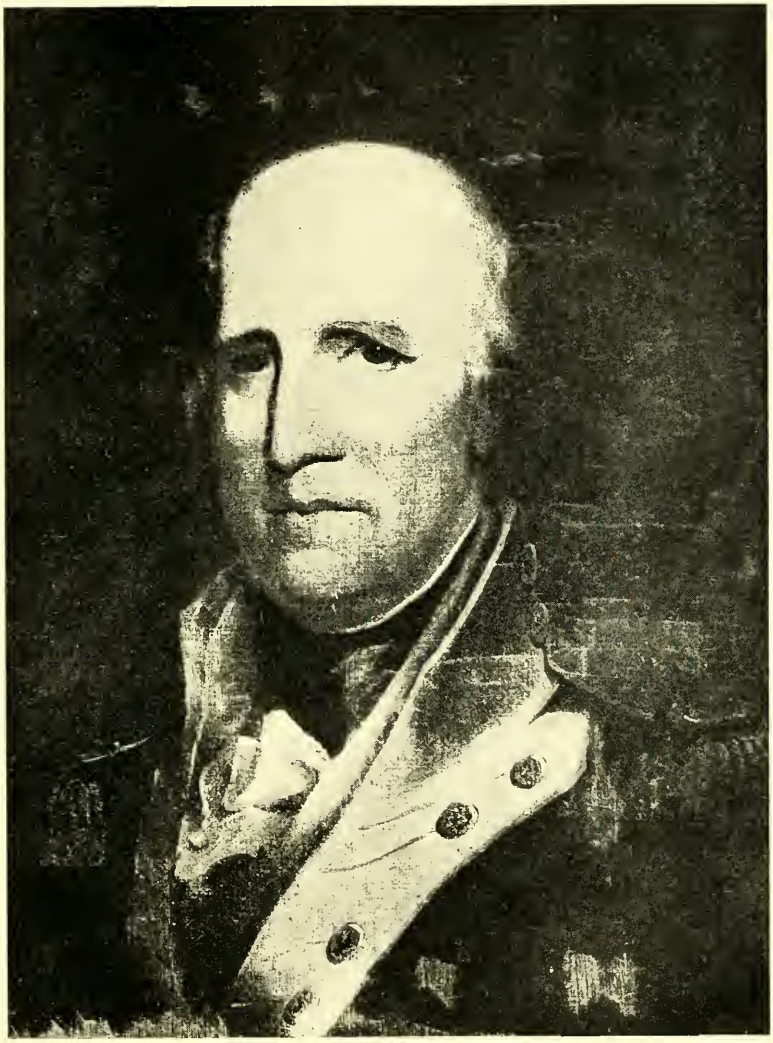
Clark was appointed lieutenant colonel and was empowered to enlist seven companies of militia, each containing fifty men. He was provided with an open letter of instructions in which he was commanded to defend Kentucky, but his private instructions directed him to make an expedition to Kaskaskia. Twelve hundred pounds in depreciated currency and an order to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt for both ammunition and supplies were given him.[35]

Having with difficulty recruited one hundred and fifty fron-

[33] Clark to Henry in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 31.

[34] *Ibid.*, 33; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 9:375.

[35] The history of this expedition of Clark's is drawn from his memoir and his letter to Mason, both of which are printed in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 114 ff., 208 ff.



[From a portrait painted by Matthew Harris Jouett]

tiersmen, Clark, on May 12, finally set out from Redstone. While *en route* news was brought to him that the revolting colonies had succeeded in making an alliance with France. Good news this, for it furnished him an argument with which to appease the French settlers of the Illinois country.

He floated down the Ohio to the site of Louisville, expecting there to be met by four companies of troops from Holston, but only a few of these came and with them a small force of Kentuckians. Still he did not despair. He took possession of and fortified the island near the falls of the Ohio, which from now on became the center of all far western military operations. Here Clark distributed the few families who had accompanied him in the expectation that they would be able to raise supplies, and here too he first disclosed to his troops the object of the expedition. The Holston company deserted during the night, and only a few of them were recaptured.

With about one hundred and seventy-five men, Clark proceeded on his route. He shot the falls of the Ohio during an eclipse of the sun and landed at a small creek one mile east of the present site of Fort Massac, which had then been long abandoned. Delaying but one night, he started across the prairies toward Kaskaskia. He had encountered on the Ohio river a boatload of Americans returning from a trading trip to Kaskaskia; one of these, by name Saunders, was selected as the guide of the expedition. The journey was a difficult one, and once at least the party seemed to be lost. On the fourth day their provisions were exhausted, and they were obliged to march for two more days with scanty fare.

Clark at all times took the utmost precautions against discovery, but in vain; precautions were useless. Rocheblave had been watching the events of the west during the spring and summer of 1778 with grave foreboding. Thomas Bentley's intrigues were known to him; he realized that the Americans would not delay long before attacking the Illinois outpost of the British. There had preceded Clark's expedition down the Ohio another force which had been sent by the revolting colonies to capture the British posts on the southern Mississippi. By it Natchez was captured, and the Americans voyaged farther south in the hope of greater success and more plunder.

The course of this expedition Rocheblave followed with anxiety, seeing in it the opening act of a concerted attack on the British west. Shortly his runners brought him information of a second expedition floating down the Ohio; it was Clark's, and the commandant soon learned that it was directed against Kaskaskia and the other Illinois villages.

Rocheblave realized that the time for decision had now come; he must test the loyalty of the British subjects over whom he ruled. He called out the militia of the villages and told them of the gravity of the situation; but the American sympathizers had performed their work exceedingly well, and it appeared that the French were unwilling to protect the villages against the "Long Knives," as the American frontiersmen were called. In a letter written after his capture on August 3, Rocheblave blamed the failure to defend the Illinois on Daniel Murray, Richard Winston, and John Hanson, who discouraged the militia officers. In the hope that reënforcements would arouse the wavering villagers, he sent an order to the officer at Vincennes to hasten to Kaskaskia with his militia. Before the people from Vincennes could arrive, Kaskaskia had fallen.[36]

Clark arrived before the village on the evening of July 4, 1778, and took possession of one of the houses on the east bank of the river. He secured boats, possibly through the connivance of the English-speaking settlers, and at night crossed the river. He then divided his forces into three companies, over which was borne, if any emblem was carried, the rattlesnake flag of Virginia; they entered the village from three sides. The fort, having no garrison, was captured without difficulty. Rocheblave had gone to bed, either resigned to his fate or not anticipating the celerity of Clark's march across the prairies. He was taken captive and his file of dispatches was seized.[37]

The Americans, Richard Winston, Daniel Murray, and

[36] Rocheblave's letter of August 3 is printed in Mason, "British Illinois—Rocheblave Papers," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, 4:418.

[37] Many of these dispatches have been recovered in the archives of the Virginia state library; they have been published in "Some Letters and Papers of General Thomas Gage," in Randolph-Macon College, *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, 4: number 2, p. 86 ff., and are being reprinted in the *Illinois Historical Collections*. Rocheblave was sent to Virginia where he remained for some time. At one time the Virginia officials offered to give him freedom, if he would return to the Illinois and govern in the name of the state. Later he was exchanged with some suspicion of irregularity on his part. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 176.

others received Clark's forces with rejoicing and furnished them with food. The French people, however, exhibited considerable uneasiness as to what would be their fate. Would the "Bostonnais" retaliate for the barbarities practiced by the Indian people? Clark soon assured them of his peaceful intentions; and when the timorous priest, Father Gibault, petitioned for the right to read mass, Clark declared that he had not come to make war upon religion. When he announced the great news of the alliance of the united colonies with France, the French went wild with enthusiasm. The stalwart pioneers were hailed as the emissaries of their beloved and longed-for king.

Rocheblave at this moment of trial had been without the leaders of his party. Louis Viviat, who had long been a supporter of the British administration, had died the preceding year, and Gabriel Cerré had started a few days before to Mackinac on a fur trading expedition. Upon learning the news of Clark's success, Cerré returned to St. Louis to await developments. The assistance and support of this able man were essential to Clark, and he immediately entered into negotiations with him, assuring him of protection in spite of all manner of charges which Cerré's enemies brought against him. Cerré returned to Kaskaskia, and Clark soon persuaded him to throw his lot with the Virginians.[38]

Meanwhile Clark had sent Captain Joseph Bowman with a small body of Americans, accompanied by some prominent Frenchmen, north along the American Bottom; Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia, and the other small villages surrendered without opposition. Thus the French villages were secured without striking a blow. It was an occupation, not a conquest.

The village of Vincennes on the Wabash still threatened Clark's position. Should this village remain in hostile hands, it would be particularly easy for the British to concentrate troops there and force Clark to take refuge on the Spanish bank, where he had determined to retreat if necessary and where he was assured of a welcome by the commandant. His newly found friends assured Clark, however, that the people of Vincennes, like themselves, would be very glad to change

[38] Douglas, "Jean Gabriel Cerré," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 8:275 ff.

masters and that he had but to send a delegation to them to secure their submission. Accordingly Clark selected as the chief of a delegation Dr. Jean Baptiste Laffont, a relatively new comer to Kaskaskia but already one of the prominent citizens. Associated with Laffont was the priest, Father Pierre Gibault, who promised to use his spiritual influence to win the people.[39] The embassy was altogether successful. When the people of Vincennes learned of the occurrences at Kaskaskia and heard the proclamation of Clark, they immediately took an oath transferring their allegiance from George III to Virginia.[40]

Clark was jubilant over the success of his expedition, which was indeed notable. The Virginians had secured a foothold north of the Ohio from which attacks on Detroit might be directed. The British forces had been driven back to the line of the lake. The appearance of the Virginia soldiers in the Illinois country had also brought to the Indians a realization of the power of the revolting colonies, and the prestige of the British had been impaired by their failure to protect the important posts. Aided by the American merchants of the Illinois, Clark and his Virginians had won the first definite success against the British in the Old Northwest.

[39] On Father Gibault's operations in Vincennes, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, xxv ff.

[40] There has been preserved among Kaskaskia records the sheet upon which they recorded their oaths. The solemn oath is written in barbarous French and the great majority of the people of Vincennes proved their inability to write by making their mark. It is published in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 56 ff. Captain Helm was immediately placed by Clark in command of the village, which he attempted to garrison with French militia.

XVI. THE COUNTY OF ILLINOIS

THE occupation of the Illinois country was accomplished by men believing in local self-government and spurning autocratic rule in all its forms.[1] It was a matter of course for Clark to devise for the French villages a form of government in which the people could participate. Had he not been instructed by Governor Patrick Henry to assure the French people of a welcome into the Virginia state and the enjoyment of rights belonging to its citizens? Clark at once distributed commissions to the necessary militia officers — he had brought with him blank forms for this purpose — and inaugurated courts, for which he permitted the people to elect the judges. It was a significant foreshadowing of the policy to be pursued by Americans in the occupation of the west. For the Illinois country also the event possessed a particular interest: for the first time its chief magistrates were elected by its own people.[2]

The first part of Clark's program, the occupation of the Illinois country, had been accomplished without great difficulty, but the much harder task of maintaining his hold in this land far from his base of supplies was still to be performed. It was a critical period. The establishment of an American post north of the Ohio was in defiance of the British power and was bound to arouse to activity the officers representing George III in the villages of the Great Lakes.

Clark's problem was complicated by the desire of his troops to return home. They had enlisted for the campaign; now that it was over their sole wish was to see their families again as soon as possible. Only one hundred men could be persuaded to remain, an insufficient force to repel any serious attack. Fortunately Clark had greater success in winning the support of the Frenchmen; two companies were enlisted in the villages

[1] This chapter is a condensation of my introduction to the *Cahokia Records*, which contains many more references to the sources used.

[2] The records of these courts, except for a few stray leaves of the court holding its sessions at Cahokia, have been destroyed.

of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. His later operations were in large measure carried out by means of the enthusiastic coöperation of the new citizens of Virginia.

Clark, furthermore, was without supplies and without money, except a small amount of the continental money he had brought with him. With this he bought merchandise, passing at its face value paper worth only twelve cents on the dollar. When this was exhausted, he drew bills of exchange which he sent to the agent of Virginia, Oliver Pollock, at New Orleans. Befriended by the Spanish governor, Pollock was able to meet Clark's first drafts, but only with the greatest difficulty. By February 6, the Illinois commandant had drawn bills on him amounting to forty-eight thousand dollars.[3]

Clark also found sympathy and support in Fernando de Leyba, the Spanish commandant of St. Louis. This he had expected, for the agent of the Spanish government in America, Don Juan de Miralles, had been confidentially informed of the proposed campaign before Clark set out from Virginia; consequently he regarded himself and Governor Henry as copartners in the undertaking. News of Clark's plan was sent to New Orleans and to all the Spanish commanders on the Mississippi bank, although it did not reach there until after the arrival of the Virginian. When Clark called at St. Louis he was most graciously received; he wrote to Governor Henry that the Spanish commandant "has offered me all the force that he could raise in case of an attack by the Indians from Detroit."[4]

The principal purpose of the expedition into the Illinois country had been to put an end to Indian raids. For a time the presence of the Virginians did impress the natives with a certain awe. Several hundred of the Chippewa, the Ottawa, the Potawatomi, the Sauk, the Foxes, the Miami, and other tribes sent representatives to Cahokia to meet with Clark in the fall of the year 1778; under Clark's skillful management

[3] During the war Pollock borrowed eighty thousand dollars on his own credit to sustain the finances of the united colonies and Virginia in the west. *Virginia State Papers*, 3:25 ff.

[4] Gérard to Vergennes, July 25, 1778, in Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, 3:293; Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 3:194.

there resulted from these meetings treaties with about a dozen tribes — all of which proved, under the persuasiveness of British merchandise, as worthless as the wampum which symbolized them.

The news of Clark's occupation of the Illinois country naturally caused consternation in the British headquarters. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton made immediate preparations to drive out the intruder. As far as supplies and troops were concerned, however, his condition was only a little better than Clark's, for the government at Quebec had never taken to heart his recommendations for the protection of the west. Determined to make the best of a bad situation, Hamilton summoned the Indians to a conference at Detroit and secured the coöperation of many of the same tribes that had met with Clark. He organized the militia and made his preparations for an early attack upon Vincennes; meanwhile orders were sent to Mackinac and St. Joseph to send an expedition down the Illinois river. In October Hamilton marched out of Detroit with one hundred and seventy-five white troops, two-thirds of whom were French. At the start there were but sixty Indians with him, but by reenforcements during the march the number was raised to five hundred. For seventy-one days the troops traveled over six hundred miles of wilderness by land and water, over the portage from the Maumee to the Wabash, and down the latter stream, where dams were built to secure sufficient water to float the boats. Winter set in and hardships increased, but every obstacle Hamilton overcame with the usual British determination.[5]

When the news that the British were coming reached Vincennes, the French were uncertain how to act. Their allegiance to Virginia was very recent; the British power was very great. Captain Helm, who was in command of the village, concluded that opposition was useless and surrendered without resistance.[6] The people at Vincennes took the oath to King George III and settled down under the older régime as casually as they had under that of Clark.

[5] Hamilton's account is printed in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 174 ff.; but consult index.

[6] *Ibid.*, 89.

If Hamilton had been in a condition to make an immediate attack on Kaskaskia, it is very possible that he would have been successful; but his men were so exhausted by the long march that he determined to wait until spring to make the decisive move. Meanwhile he sent back most of his troops and Indians to their homes with orders to report later to him, contenting himself with sending scouting parties toward Kaskaskia and Cahokia to observe the movements of the Virginians. With his fifty regulars, a few volunteers, and some Indians, he set about repairing the fort; and furthermore, he sent word to John Stuart, superintendent of Indians for the southern department, to muster his tribes and to close the Ohio to any retreat in that direction.

At the news that Vincennes had fallen again into the hands of the British, Clark realized that his position had become precarious; he must either retreat or take some bold action. Hazardous as it was, he decided on the latter course. Without resources, without hope of assistance, with a handful of men, he was obliged to trust himself fully to a people of alien speech and religion. His appeal for help to the French and the few American merchants of the Illinois villages was received enthusiastically, particularly after it was learned that most of the British soldiers had been sent back to Detroit. Supplies were raised among the inhabitants, and the military force was increased by enlistments to about one hundred and fifty.

Clark's first move was to send an armed galley with guns to the Wabash river. On the next day, February 5, 1779, after religious exercises by Father Gibault, Clark, mounted on a handsome stallion from New Mexico, led his little army out of Kaskaskia.[7] The expedition to Vincennes is one of the most heroic and dramatic in the annals of the American Revolution. The prairies, as usual at this time of the year, were in places covered with water; there followed days of wading through

[7] Clark intended to send his stallion as a present to Governor Henry, who had desired some Spanish horses from the Illinois, but could find no immediate means of transportation from Vincennes. Clark to Henry, March 9, 1779, in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 303. In the same volume will be found the contemporary accounts of this expedition. The women of Kaskaskia made some flags for the companies, but it is impossible to determine their character. Perhaps they were French.

icy water, rest almost without food, nights passed on knolls protruding from the surrounding mud. Through it all Clark proved himself a leader of men. His courage and hope inspired his followers. He laughed at their fears and kept before their eyes the coming victory. Throughout the expedition he was animated by a belief in the holiness of his cause like that which inspired the first crusaders to Palestine. Hamilton, the "hair buyer," and his minions seemed to Clark as the Moslems did to Godefroy de Bouillon; the fall of Vincennes was to be a repetition of the capture of Jerusalem. The youthful commander's account of the adventure pulsates with a medieval fervor.

From some captured hunters it was learned that the approach of the little band was unknown to the British and that the people at Vincennes, who had been warned by Clark from Kaskaskia of the proposed expedition, were still eager for the success of the Virginians.[8] The final rush to the village was made through water breast-high. The garrison was completely surprised. The fort was soon surrounded. After the first firing, which occurred in the night of February 23, many of the British Indians made their escape from the fort, and a hundred Kickapoo and Piankashaw in the town offered to serve the Americans, an offer which Clark refused. Many of the French, however, joined in the attack.

In the morning, Clark sent a letter to Hamilton demanding that he surrender. Hamilton refused, having been assured by his troops that "they would stick" to him "as the shirt to his back."[9] The French volunteers from Detroit, however, did not relish the idea of fighting against their own countrymen; moreover, the situation appeared to them desperate. Later, after another consultation with his officers, Hamilton determined to ask for an honorable surrender, although his soldiers were still unwilling to take this course. An interview with Clark was arranged by letter, but the Virginian refused to consider any terms except unconditional surrender, asserting that he "wanted a sufficient excuse to put all the Indians & partisans to death, as the greatest part of those Villains was

[8] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 50.
[9] Hamilton's report in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 187.

then with him."[10] He did grant a short time for Hamilton to consult his officers again.

During this period of truce some Indians, sent by Hamilton against Kentucky, returned to Vincennes and were killed or captured by the Virginians. In their treatment of the captives, bathed in the blood of frontier men, women, and children, Clark's soldiers gave full reign to the crusading spirit; the Indians were tomahawked in the presence of the British garrison. Hamilton describes the act as follows: "One of them was tomahawk'd immediately. The rest sitting on the ground in a ring bound — seeing by the fate of their comrade what they had to expect, the next on his left sung his death song, and was in turn tomahawk'd, the rest underwent the same fate."[11] Other more dreadful acts are described.

Meanwhile, at a second conference, Clark offered more moderate terms, and the fort was surrendered on the twenty-fifth of February, the garrison being permitted to march out with their arms and accouterments.

Learning that Hamilton was expecting a convoy with supplies from Ouiatenon, Clark sent Captain Helm with a party to meet them, and forty prisoners with seven boats loaded with provisions and Indian goods to the value of six thousand dollars were captured; the booty was distributed among the soldiers. Hamilton and several of his principal officers, with some civilian prisoners, were sent to Williamsburg, but the French volunteers were paroled in the expectation that they would form a party in Detroit favorably disposed toward the Americans.

The news of Clark's success in occupying the Illinois country reached Williamsburg about November 16, 1778, and Governor Henry promptly sent word of the event to the delegates in congress. He also immediately took measures to strengthen Clark's forces, though he never sent as many troops as he promised.[12]

[10] James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 144.

[11] For Hamilton's report see *ibid.*, 189. Compare Bowman's account, *ibid.*, 161.

[12] See several letters dated December 12, 1778, in Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 3:209 ff.

Besides the need of military reënforcements for the Illinois villages, there was the necessity of providing an orderly government for this far-away region claimed as a part of the Old Dominion. The requisite bill was introduced into the Virginia legislature on November 30 and passed both houses on December 9. The civil establishment created for the region was essentially the same as that which Virginia had used in its expansion westward — the county government. This new territory, which included all that Clark actually held, stretched from the Ohio to the Illinois river and up the Wabash toward Detroit to an indefinite boundary. Ouiatenon was certainly under the jurisdiction of Virginia, but beyond that post and the Illinois river there is no proof that the state exercised jurisdiction.

The government of the "county of Illinois" was given force for only one year and thereafter to the end of the next session of the legislature. The chief executive officer and commander of the militia was the county lieutenant, or commandant, who was empowered to appoint as many deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissaries as he found necessary. The civil officers were to be those that the inhabitants were accustomed to, and they were to administer the law which was already in force in the region, that is, the *coutume de Paris*. Offices created by the county lieutenant, to which the inhabitants were unaccustomed, were to be supported by the Virginia treasury; the others, by the people. The people were given assurance of the free exercise of their religion. The power of the court and of the county lieutenant was limited in actions for treason and murder to the same extent as it was in all counties of Virginia — the county lieutenant was permitted to stay execution until the opinion of the governor or the assembly had been obtained.

On December 12, 1778, in accordance with this act, Patrick Henry commissioned John Todd county lieutenant of Illinois. Todd's ancestors were Scotch-Irish and had settled in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. He had been educated at a school kept by his uncle, where he had greater opportunities for general culture than had the average boy of his day. Early in life his spirit of adventure drew him to the west.

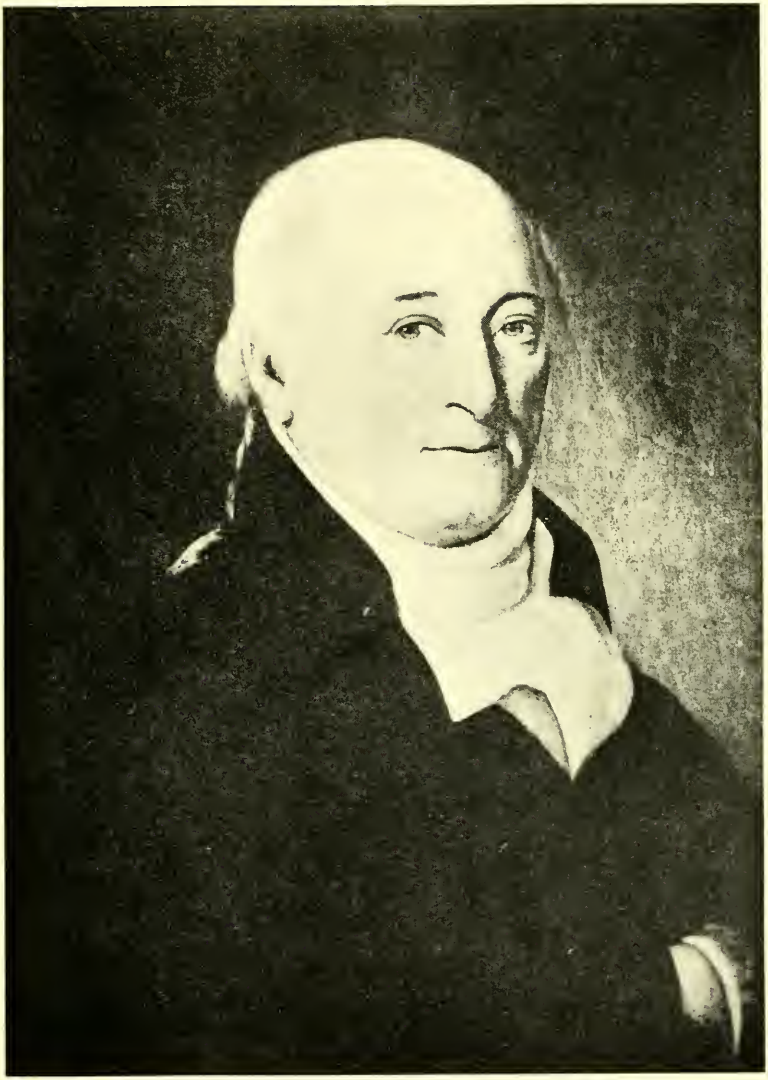
He participated in Dunmore's War and was among the first settlers in Kentucky, where he was elected to the Virginia legislature in 1777. He was small of stature, but had a reputation as an athlete and an Indian fighter.

Governor Henry gave the new county lieutenant wise instructions to do all in his power to win the good will of the French people and to inculcate in them an "idea of the value of the liberty which had now become theirs." The militia was to be under his command and was not to join the army until ordered out by the civil authorities. Much was left to his discretion, since ignorance of conditions in Illinois made detailed instructions impossible.

When the new county lieutenant — only twenty-eight years old — came to Illinois, events were already approaching a crisis, brought on by the clash of Anglo-Saxon and Gallic temperament. The unity of feeling and the glow of enthusiasm aroused by the shouts of liberty and the huzzas for the French alliance were already waning. The French were beginning to count the cost of the transfer of their allegiance; criticism, denunciation, and open opposition were ready to break forth. Clark, worn out by worry, received his friend Todd with joy, and placed on him the responsibility of the civil department, which was already verging on chaos.

Todd, reaching the Illinois in May, 1779, proceeded to organize the civil government and to select his officers of militia. For the most part he appointed Frenchmen, although a few English names — those of old residents of the villages — are to be found on the list. The courts established by Clark were reorganized, three districts being created: the Kaskaskia district, including Prairie du Rocher, Chartres village, and St. Philippe; the Cahokia district, extending from the village of Prairie du Pont to Peoria on the Illinois river; and the Vincennes district, including all the region of the Wabash. The court consisted of six justices from the principal village and representatives from the other communities.

The election for the new government was held at Kaskaskia on May 12, with suitable ceremonies. The people were summoned for a general assembly at the church door, where for years they had been accustomed to meet and trans-



Cerré

[From a painting in the possession of V. C. Turner, St. Louis]

act their business. They came in their picturesque holiday apparel for the occasion which must have meant to them the fulfillment of many anticipations. George Rogers Clark, as presiding officer, had an address in French read to the audience, after which Todd set forth the plans of the Virginia authorities for this far-off community.

The assembly then proceeded to the election. The harmony of parties is evident from the list of men chosen justices.[13] The factional strife which had marked Rocheblave's administration was hushed by the great promises of this new era. At the head of the court was placed Gabriel Cerré, the man who had been the chief supporter of Rocheblave and who had in the past few months won the confidence of Clark and his officers by the liberal assistance he had given to their tottering finances. For the most part, however, the judges were those men who had belonged to the American party. Similar courts were elected about the same time in Cahokia and Vincennes.

The history of these courts was very dissimilar; but there were certain general developments which were common to all. The courts met at first rather irregularly, but the justices seem to have attempted to continue the weekly sessions to which they had become accustomed in Clark's courts. Later they substituted regular monthly sessions, meeting on special occasions when required. The individual justices had jurisdiction in cases involving not more than twenty-five shillings, as was the law in the other counties of Virginia. The French law was retained as the law of the county, but it was modified somewhat by the law of Virginia. In a letter to Clark on December 12, 1778, Governor Henry mentions sending him the bill of rights of Virginia to guide the French people, and appeal was made to it at one time at least in the history of the court of Kaskaskia.[14]

[13] The ballot sheet used on this occasion has not been preserved, but those used at later elections have been. The sheet was divided into squares; the names of the candidates were placed at the top, and the name of each voter, as he named his choice, was written at the side, and a tally stroke made in the proper square.

[14] This was probably not the only Virginia act that was used in these courts, for mention is also made of the "Code of Laws and Bill of Rights" as a guide for difficult questions.

There was some attempt at Kaskaskia to regulate the procedure in accordance with English law. On one of the stray papers of the records from Kaskaskia there is a regular docket like that of any English court, and at the end of the Cahokia court record there is an attempt to imitate the same form. Trial by jury was also permitted and probably required in criminal cases; at least the first jury trial at Cahokia of which there is a record was of a criminal case. Another evidence of the influence of the English law was the practice of arresting men for debt, a custom which made a late appearance in the history of the Cahokia court. On the whole, however, the law of the courts continued to be that of the *coutume de Paris,* as it had been used in the Illinois throughout the eighteenth century. The litigants did not as a rule favor the English procedure and were generally satisfied to have a majority of the judges decide their cases in accordance with equity.

Although there were very serious charges made against the Vincennes justices on account of the large costs they demanded, the Cahokia court, with the exception of a few cases, imposed only moderate costs not differing from those that had been fixed by the ordinances of the French kings. Little is known of the Kaskaskia court, for its records have almost entirely disappeared. This court had a stormy history, and no doubt the records were neglected, and in later times they were destroyed by men interested in obliterating traces of irregularity.

The harmony and enthusiasm exhibited at the inauguration of the government were more apparent than real, for antagonism was increasing steadily between the two civilizations represented by the French and the Virginia backwoodsmen. In the case of the latter, the life of the woods had produced a set of men physically strong, brave to the point of recklessness, trained in woodcraft, lovers of individual freedom, hard drinkers, quarrelsome, frequently uncultured even to vulgarity — men with all the virtues as well as the vices of the Homeric heroes. They came from several races of Europe: English, Irish, Scotch-Irish, German, and Dutch. Among them some were from respectable families, and others were of the worst of the criminal class who had fled from arrest.

Here all were received without questioning, for the west needed strong men; they came to fight Indians, to quarrel among themselves, to take up land. These men of the border succeeded where their more conventional French neighbors, still limited by many civil and ecclesiastical prohibitions on personal liberty, had failed.

The French and the pioneers differed in almost every respect. The French were Catholics; the majority of the Americans were Protestants. The Calvinistic blood of the Independents and Presbyterians still ran warm in their veins, although they may have long ceased to feel the restraining influence of religion; for them the Catholics were enemies, as they had been on many a battlefield of the Old World. The French lived on good terms with the Indians; the pioneer knew no good Indian save a dead one. The French had been educated to respect the law and to obey the magistrates. The frontiersmen preferred to execute their own law and in many disputes were themselves judge, jury, and executioner.

No sooner was the court of Kaskaskia established than the evidence of the antagonism between the two peoples was apparent. In a memorial of May 24, 1779, the justices told of their grievances and demanded reforms. They asserted that the soldiers of Fort Clark killed the domestic animals of the French and seized supplies without payment. They complained of the sale of liquor to the Indians and of the traffic with slaves. Clark, who could expect no assistance from Virginia, could do little to remedy matters; he was practically obliged to allow the men to take their food wherever they could find it. Moreover, he was planning an expedition against Detroit which demanded the accumulation of supplies.

The most difficult problem that confronted the new county lieutenant concerned the land. The fertile Illinois country quickly attracted the roving westerners, who took up unpatented lands above the bluffs after the custom of tomahawk claims with which they were familiar in Kentucky, although such procedure was contrary to a law of Virginia which forbade all settlements north of the Ohio river.[15] Todd made an attempt to regulate rather than to forbid the new settlements,

[15] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 10: 161.

in spite of the law, for he and Clark realized that one of the best ways to garrison Illinois was through the settlement of families.

More important was another movement already in operation. In a former chapter an account has been given of the formation of the Illinois Land Company and its child, the Wabash Land Company, founded by William Murray for the purpose of exploiting the Illinois region. That Murray had any connection with the expedition of George Rogers Clark cannot be proved, but at one time he instructed his brother, Daniel Murray in Kaskaskia, to support any American troops which might come. The stockholders in these companies had watched the expedition with excited interest. Clark's victory meant to them the dawn of a new day in speculation. News of his success reached Williamsburg about November 16, 1778, but interested people in Philadelphia had heard the good tidings at a somewhat earlier date, for, on November 3, the members of the two land companies met to consider the promotion of their affairs in the Illinois country and to decide on policies. They undoubtedly knew that Great Britain no longer ruled at Kaskaskia.

At this early meeting a definite agreement to unite under the name of the United Illinois and Wabash Land Company was formulated; it was further determined to make a cession of land to congress, sufficient in extent to enable the new nation to pay the stipulated quantity of land to the soldiers. Recognition was given to the fact that the boundaries of the most northern purchase of land by the Illinois Land Company were very imperfect, and money was appropriated to rectify this. Finally the plans for colonization were outlined, and the immediate establishment of one township was determined upon.[16]

Memorials drawn up by the land companies were presented by William Murray on December 26, 1778, to the legislature of Virginia.[17] Knowing well the sensitiveness of

[16] *Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* (ed. Alvord), 30 ff. The date of this meeting is obtained from *An Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Companies,* published at Philadelphia, 1796.

[17] The memorial of the Wabash Land Company is published in the *Virginia State Papers,* 1:314; that of the Illinois Land Company has never been published. See also Mason, "John Todd Papers," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection,* 4:318.

Virginia to encroachments upon its frontier land, the proprietors of the two companies were careful to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Virginia over the region. The memorialists asked nothing of the legislature; they limited themselves to the announcement of their intentions.

The issue raised by the memorials was an old one. Virginia had fought great land companies before and was to do so for many years; the state had on June 24, 1776, declared that "no purchase of land within her chartered limits should be made of any Indian tribe without the approbation of the legislature."[18] The act of the Illinois and Wabash Land Company led to a restatement on May 18, 1779, of the title of the state to the western lands;[19] it was declared that the right of preëmption of all land within the limits of Virginia belonged to the commonwealth alone.

The history of the further efforts of the members of the Illinois and Wabash Land Company to gain recognition of their titles will be considered in another chapter.[20] They carried their claims to the continental congress and raised there an issue which disturbed greatly that ill-united body. Their activities in the Illinois country probably never ceased, although they officially declared their resolution to defer all action during the struggle for independence.

County Lieutenant John Todd naturally did not escape the influence of these great land companies to which he was opposed. He complained that "some Land jobbers from the South side of Ohio have been making improvements (as they call them) upon the purchas'd Lands on this side of the River, and are beyond the reach of punishment from me — with the arrival of New adventurers this summer, the same spirit of Land jobbing begins to breathe here."[21]

Like all westerners Clark was interested in land speculation; it was the financial mania of the day. There is an interesting and unexplained notation in the journal he kept at the

[18] For a discussion of this phase of the dispute see Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 2:77.

[19] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 10:97.

[20] See below, chapter 18, page 380.

[21] Mason, "John Todd Papers," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, 4:188.

time he was in Williamsburg arranging the details of his Illinois expedition. Under the date December 3, 1777, he wrote: "taken in partnership by his Excellency P. Henry in taking a Body of Land."[22] Nothing further is known of this partnership, but Clark did acquire land titles in the Illinois country. The fief containing twelve thousand acres, which had once belonged to the Seminary of Foreign Missions, was secretly ceded by Father Gibault to Stephen Trigg, one of Clark's officers, on April 21, 1779; and Trigg in turn assigned it to George Rogers Clark on May 6 of the same year. Of course Father Gibault had no right to make this grant of land, and it was in the course of time disallowed by the United States government.[23]

The financial problems raised by the success of the Virginians were difficult and numerous. While Clark had been absent at Vincennes, events portending future difficulties were taking place in the Illinois villages. The variation in value of continental money was studied carefully in the east in order that every advantage might be utilized. Naturally the report that Clark was passing this money at par on the banks of the Mississippi attracted attention, and crowds of traders appeared in the Illinois villages in the spring of 1779 and began bidding against each other for the goods offered for sale. The result was, as Clark wrote: "Provision is three times the price it was two months past, and to be got by no other means than my own bonds, goods, or force."[24] There was another reason for the rise in price. Illinois was now cut off from Canada, where many supplies were ordinarily bought.

Another phase of the problem of the paper money was especially perplexing. Some of it had already been called in by the state of Virginia. Todd's solution of the difficulty did not please the military officers, one of whom wrote: "Immediately after his arrival, His policy was to put a total stop to paper credit which he did by putting the paper money which he found in the hands of the different Individuals, under cover

[22] James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 27.

[23] For the original deed see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 77. Clark sold it to Dorsey Pentecoste. For later history, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 581, 621.

[24] Clark to governor of Virginia, April 29, 1779, in English, *Conquest of the Old Northwest*, 1:401.

and sealing it up (where a great part of it yet remains) and giving the holders thereof a certificate specifying that he had Inclosed under his Private Seal paper bills of Credit to a certain amount and for which he promised them (as he said they had been imposed on) lands in proportion to the money they brought to him to secrete for them . . . . this proceeding put a total stop ever after to paper credit in that country."[25]

Todd's activities brought him into collision with the military establishment at many points, and the officers soon began to make extravagant complaints against him. They asserted that the people were becoming mutinous through the encouragement of their civil commander and that the soldiers were being neglected. As Captain John Williams wrote, "provisions is very hard to be got without Peltry," and clothing was almost impossible to secure. The question of the support of the troops had become a vital issue between the civil government and the army. The French were unwilling to part with their goods without assurance of payment in something better than the depreciated continentals. Even the bills that had been drawn on the resourceful Oliver Pollock at New Orleans and on the treasury of Virginia by the officers were coming back protested.

During the period when this issue between the French and the Americans was crystallizing, Clark was making extensive preparations for an attack upon Detroit, an expedition which he had in mind every year during the period of his command in the west. The taking of Detroit would end the Indian attacks upon Kentucky, the principal object of Clark's original undertaking. There still lingered in some quarters a belief that Detroit could best be attacked from Pittsburg or at least by a united effort on the part of the commander there and Clark. This latter plan was being constantly talked about, and some people hoped for a hearty coöperation between the two commanders.[26]

Clark, having faith in his own powers, preferred to act alone. He hoped to succeed through the influence of the Illi-

[25] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 131.
[26] Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, introduction.

nois French, who were on good terms with the villagers on the lake. His victory at Vincennes and his capture of Hamilton had prepared the way; the Indians were now appealing to the "Long Knives" for peace. Clark's plan was supported by County Lieutenant Todd, acting in accordance with secret orders from Governor Henry, who had said: "Illinois must expect to pay in these a large price for her Freedom, unless the English can be expelled from Detroit."

In the expectation of reënforcements from Virginia, Major Linctot, who had been a trader among the Indians, was sent by Clark to the Illinois river with a company of forty men to overawe the Indians of that region and to reconnoiter. Linctot brought back a very favorable report.

Then came Clark's first disappointment. He did not get from Virginia the support he had looked for; Colonel John Montgomery, long expected, arrived with one hundred and fifty men instead of the five hundred promised.[27] Then, when all the preparations possible had been made and Clark was on the point of leaving for Vincennes, he learned that Colonel John Bowman, who had agreed to lead three hundred Kentuckians to him, had instead made an independent attack upon the Shawnee town of Chillicothe. This meant disaster, for the attack had failed and only thirty Kentuckians came to join Clark. To capture Detroit with a force of about three hundred and fifty men, ill supplied with clothes and food, was out of the question; at least a thousand men were needed. Clark wrote: "never was a person more mortified than I was at this time, to see so fair an opportunity to push a victory; Detroit lost for want of a few men."[28]

The rumor of the expedition, however, aroused great fear in the minds of the British and turned their attention during the summer toward defensive rather than offensive preparations. They had learned that they could not trust the French, who in Detroit openly toasted the success of the American cause. A new fort was immediately built, and the vessels of the lake were put in repair.[29] General Haldimand became

[27] James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 84, 300; *ibid.*, CVII.
[28] *Ibid.*, 377.
[29] *Ibid.*, 101.

anxious and wrote that the British position was such that "it will require great judgment and temper to preserve the Indians in our interest after so glaring and recent a proof of our want of strength, or want of conduct." And he also added, "whenever they do quit us, the valuable Fur Trade will immediately be lost to Great Britain."[30]

After all hopes of the conquest of Detroit in 1779 were abandoned, Clark distributed his troops in the various villages: Colonel Montgomery was placed in command of the Illinois country; Captain Williams was stationed at Fort Clark in Kaskaskia; Captain Richard McCarty at Fort Bowman in Cahokia; and Captain Shelby at Fort Patrick Henry in Vincennes. Clark himself retired to the south and proceeded to erect Fort Jefferson at the "Iron Banks" on the Mississippi.[31]

The expedition against Detroit was not abandoned, only postponed till another year with greater hope of success. General Washington was particularly interested in the enterprise and gave his support to a joint action from Pittsburg and Vincennes. The mutual jealousy of Clark and the continental officer at Pittsburg, however, proved an insurmountable obstacle. "It may be necessary, perhaps, to inform you," wrote Governor Jefferson of Virginia to Washington, "that these two officers cannot act together, which excludes the hopes of ensuring success by a joint expedition."[32] Washington finally gave his consent to the plan of Clark, whom Virginia made a brigadier general, in order to avoid conflict over precedence with the continental colonel at Pittsburg, who, greatly chagrined, did all in his power to hinder his rival's operations.[33]

Meanwhile active preparations for the campaign were carried on during the winter. Hunters were sent out in every direction to obtain meat, and the officers were instructed to purchase provisions from the Illinois inhabitants. This brought on the crisis which Todd had expected and proved to him the impossibility of maintaining a civil government. It was found necessary to assess the people of the villages in order to obtain the necessary provisions. The first assess-

[30] Beckwith, volume 1 of *Illinois Historical Collections*, 446.
[31] Clark's general orders, *Virginia State Papers*, 1:324; see also 3:441.
[32] Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 100, 134.
[33] *Ibid.*, 32.

ment, however, did not result in sufficient quantities for the large army which Clark was expecting. Montgomery reported that the people complained that they and their Negroes were naked and could not supply him with any more goods unless he had something more substantial than paper money to pay with. In despair Montgomery urged Todd to make a further attempt and reported the efforts of the latter in the following words: "[He said] that he Would Call a counsel of the inhabitants and Compel them to furnish But when the[y] Met the[y] punkley [*sic*] denied him, he then told Them if the[y] did not Comply he would Give them up to the Miletery and Quit Them. the[y] answered him the[y] were well aGread to that & So parted."[34]

As early as August 13, 1779, Todd had asked to be permitted to resign, and in November, after appointing Richard Winston as his deputy, he left the Illinois never to return. With the departure of Todd the last protection against military oppression was taken away from the people, and throughout the winter they suffered from the confiscation of their goods, which was carried out pitilessly by the soldiers. Montgomery accompanied his demands with threats of force; at one time he advised the people to put their guns in good order, for if they refused to furnish the supplies he would regard them as traitors to the cause of America and would treat them accordingly.

When the change of government had failed to satisfy the French and the presence of soldiers had led to disorder and tyranny, there began a steady stream of emigration to the Spanish bank, which ended in almost depopulating some of the villages of the American Bottom. Among the emigrants was Father Gibault, who in 1778 became parish priest at Ste. Genevieve and thus escaped from the turbulence of the Americans and the danger of capture by the British. He was soon followed by the most substantial and progressive of the French inhabitants. One of the first to leave was Kaskaskia's richest and foremost citizen, Gabriel Cerré, who emigrated to St. Louis either in the fall of 1779 or the following winter.

[34] Montgomery to Clark, October 5, 1779, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 129. Colonel Montgomery's orthography was more picturesque than conventional.

Charles Gratiot of Cahokia soon followed his example, and many others went with them "to seek an asylum where they find the protection which is due a free people." Without these leaders the French were less able than before to hold their own. Appeals and petitions they continued to send to Virginia, nevertheless, and finally an agent was appointed to represent the French interests at the state capital. Nothing was accomplished, however, for Virginia had no money to use for investigation or for paying claims.

The French justices did little to relieve their countrymen. There is considerable evidence that their primary interest was in making money out of their positions. They certainly found the offices sufficiently lucrative to be tenaciously retained as long as possible. The court at Cahokia held elections annually, but at Kaskaskia elections occurred at crises only. The original justices at Vincennes clung to their offices until 1787.[35]

The courts also issued many grants of land which were illegal. Virginia had forbidden the practice, but some provision had to be made for the straggling settlers coming in. The justices unfortunately were open to undue influences, and several of the Virginia officers received large cessions.

Richard Winston, the deputy county lieutenant, was unable to weather the storms surging around him. He came originally from Virginia in 1766 as an agent for the Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan Company and had remained in Illinois ever since. By all his associates he was suspected of dishonesty, even by those who shared in his peculiar methods of conducting business. It must be said, however, that he ruined himself by his devotion to the Virginia cause in the Illinois.

From the fall of 1779 to January, 1783, Winston, on account of his position, had the opportunity to promote a happier feeling between the French and the Americans, but he seems to have done all in his power to intensify the mutual distrust. While he managed to hold together some of the party which had formerly looked upon Murray, Bentley, and himself as leaders against Rocheblave, the real leaders of the French inhabitants, including even some of those who had ardently desired American supremacy, were decidedly hostile to him.

[35] Dunn, *Indiana, passim.*

Instead of bringing the fulfillment of the hope of the conquest of Detroit — a hope that at times had illuminated the general gloom in the west during the winter — the spring opened most ominously. Along the seaboard the British troops were successfully invading the southern states and gradually cutting them off one by one; Virginia itself was threatened. In the region beyond the mountains the situation was no more hopeful. Pittsburg and its environs were honeycombed by British intrigue; no one knew who was trustworthy. Where force had failed, treachery seemed about to succeed. In the far west, Clark received neither the recruits nor the supplies promised; instead of mustering his forces for an attack on Detroit, the situation compelled him to recall the troops from north of the Ohio and to concentrate them at Fort Jefferson in the hope of saving something out of the threatened wreck. Vincennes was to be entirely deserted by the Virginians, commissions being sent to French officers to raise a company and take possession of Fort Patrick Henry; only a few soldiers were to be left in the other villages.[36] Before the preparations for the evacuation of the country could be carried out, however, news came that a large British and Indian expedition was approaching the Illinois country.

This expedition formed part of a general attack which the British planned to make on all the Spanish posts of the Mississippi river. The entrance of Spain into the war the preceding year offered Great Britain an opportunity to gain two objects, the importance of which had been overlooked in the treaty of peace in 1763. These were New Orleans and the fur trade of the Missouri river, which was becoming yearly more important to the Canadians.[37] To gain these objects, as well as to cut off Spanish aid to the Americans, the British troops from the north and south were ordered to move simultaneously in the spring of 1780 and to capture all the villages from New Orleans to St. Louis. The energy of Governor

[36] Todd to Jefferson, June 2, 1780, in James, *George Rogers Clark Papers*, 422; Clark to Fleming, April 4, 1780, *ibid.*, 407; many other letters in the same and in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*. On the general situation consult Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 27 ff.

[37] Sinclair to Haldimand, February 17, 1780, in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 9: 546, 549; Sinclair to Haldimand, May 29, *ibid.*

Bernardo de Galvez of New Orleans in successfully attacking the British posts on the gulf during the fall of 1779 and the spring of the next year frustrated the southern plan; but the northern expedition against St. Louis and the villages held by Clark was made as scheduled.

The British had hoped to keep their movements secret, but by the beginning of February the Cahokians had learned of the anticipated danger. On April 11 they sent Charles Gratiot to Clark at Fort Jefferson to ask his assistance. The Spanish commandant and Montgomery also wrote him news of the approaching enemy. Montgomery hastened to Cahokia, where he was immediately joined by Clark just in time to repel the attack. The Spaniards were equally successful at St. Louis. Clark would have given them assistance, had not the strong winds prevented the signals from being heard.[38]

Throughout the summer of 1780 the Illinois people were continually harassed by Indian attacks and rumors of attacks and were constantly preparing for defense. Fort Jefferson underwent a severe siege; the people of Kaskaskia repulsed a large band of Indians on July 17, and the inhabitants of Cahokia made common cause with the Spaniards in defending themselves against an expected attack the following month. Thus a second time when Clark's position was desperate the aid of the French inhabitants saved the Illinois.

An offensive operation was also undertaken by Colonel Montgomery who, with a company of three hundred French, Spaniards, and Americans, marched northward and made reprisals against the Indians around Rock river and Prairie du Chien.[39] Meanwhile Clark led against the Shawnee an expedition which might have been successful had not a series of events, beginning at Vincennes, led to further estrangement between the French and Americans and induced the French at Vincennes to give the Indians information of the movements of the Americans.

[38] James, "Significance of the Attack on St. Louis, 1780," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 1908, p. 212; *Virginia State Papers*, 3:443.

[39] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 2:185; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:411; Meese, "Rock River in the Revolution," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1909, p. 97 ff.

The success of the Spanish, the French, and the Virginians in repelling the attacks of the British had not in any way cemented the friendship between the last two. The events of the summer of 1780, which still further estranged the two peoples, are connected with the appearance in the Illinois country of a French officer by the name of Augustin Mottin de la Balme. The cause of his coming is still something of a mystery. Possibly La Balme was sent to the west by the French minister, La Luzerne, to arouse the French of the western villages to undertake an attack upon Detroit in accordance with a project conceived by Washington and approved by the French authorities in America.[40]

La Balme came originally to America highly recommended by Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane. He offered his services to the colonies, but feeling himself slighted by being commissioned only inspector general of cavalry, soon resigned from the army. In June, 1780, he was at Fort Pitt, where he joined an Indian agent, the Sieur de Linctot, in his efforts to win the Indians to the cause of the allies. When he reached Vincennes in July, and afterwards in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, he realized that his mission was much more difficult than he had expected, because the Virginians had offended the French. He immediately drew a distinction, therefore, between these frontiersmen and the united colonies which were in alliance with France and Spain.

With considerable effort he persuaded some eighty Frenchmen and Indians to enlist in his enterprise; and with this handful of men, under the standard of France, he started against Detroit. He successfully attacked the post at the Miami, but was finally defeated by the Indians, he and many of his associates being killed. Meanwhile a detachment he had sent from Cahokia under Jean Baptiste Hamelin had cap-

[40] For evidence of this, see Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, introduction LXXXIX, note 3; Kellogg, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio*, 200. There is another possible explanation. As has been seen the Illinois and Wabash Land Company was making every effort to promote its enterprise; and the first French minister to the united colonies, Gérard, had become a member of the company. It is quite possible that some of his friends may have sent this French officer to investigate the situation in the far west. Some of the latter's speeches to the French people give support to such a hypothesis. This would not explain satisfactorily the raising of forces for the expedition against Detroit.

tured St. Joseph, but while returning was overtaken and defeated near Chicago by some traders and Indians.

These expeditions instigated by La Balme led to interesting consequences. The villagers of Cahokia, desiring retaliation for their losses at St. Joseph, laid their case before the Spanish commandant at St. Louis, an ambitious man who was desirous of imitating the success of Governor Galvez of Louisiana. Spain had throughout the year been coöperating with the Americans and the French, and there was no reason why Spain as a nation should not attack a British post outside the field of influence exercised by Clark. Accordingly, thirty French militia from St. Louis combined with a Cahokian detachment to make an attack upon St. Joseph; two hundred Indians were added to the band during the advance up the Illinois river. They marched in midwinter across Illinois and in the first days of 1781 captured the village. For twenty-four hours the Spanish held this unimportant post; then fearing a counter attack by the British, the force withdrew.

The commandant of St. Louis sent to the Spanish government a more or less grandiloquent account of his expedition, magnifying somewhat the importance of the post which he had taken. This account, published in the Madrid *Gazette*, caused some feeling of anxiety in the minds of the American commissioners who were in Paris for the purpose of negotiating peace; but so far as is known the affair at St. Joseph was unnoticed in the later negotiations.[41]

After the appearance of La Balme the animosity of the French inhabitants of the Illinois toward the Virginians increased, and they grew more outspoken in their opposition. The citizens of all the villages united in sending the governor of Virginia a memorial in which they wrote that they had decided not to receive any more troops in their villages except those that should be sent by the king of France. They promised, however, to guard the frontiers of Virginia from attack by the Indians. In each of the villages memorials were also drawn up to be sent to the French minister, La Luzerne, set-

[41] For an account of this expedition see Alvord, "Conquest of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781," in *Missouri Historical Review*, 2:195 ff. For a criticism of the same by Mr. Teggart see *ibid.*, 5:214 ff. Consult also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:430 ff.

ting forth in great detail the grievances which the inhabitants had suffered.

During the fall of this year the Virginians completed their evacuation of the Illinois, which had been interrupted by the British attack. The troops had already been recalled from Vincennes. The other two villages were now abandoned, except for a small body left at Kaskaskia as an advance guard under Captain John Rogers.

Rogers fell prey to two evil advisers in his management of the French. One of these was the intriguer, Thomas Bentley, who, on Rocheblave's accusation, had been imprisoned in Quebec until he made his escape in 1780, and who, through desire for revenge, had returned to Kaskaskia. During his imprisonment he had lost none of his love for devious ways; while posing in the Illinois country as a friend of the Americans, he wrote the governor of Canada that a small company of British troops could capture not only what was held by Clark but also the Spanish villages.[42]

The second man to aid Captain Rogers was John Dodge. He was born in Connecticut, had become a trader at Sandusky before the outbreak of the Revolution, and, because he showed his attachment to the cause of the colonies, he had been arrested by the British and carried to Detroit and later to Quebec, whence he escaped in 1779. Washington recommended him to Governor Jefferson of Virginia as a man who would be useful in the west, and the latter sent him out to the Illinois as Indian agent.

To make the most out of the situation Bentley and Dodge formed a partnership and bought up the claims of the inhabitants against Virginia for trifling sums. It was suspected that they used public funds for these purchases, and their financial operations in securing supplies for the troops likewise aroused suspicion. Nevertheless, they were supported by Captain Rogers, who was young and inexperienced and seems to have been blinded by their craftiness. The means they used to procure provisions for the troops reduced to abject poverty many of the French of the region.

[42] Bentley to De Peyster, July 28, 1780, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records,* 168, 171; Bentley to Haldimand, August 12, 1780, *ibid.*

The French villagers were advised by their acting county lieutenant, Richard Winston, and by the former captain of the French militia, Richard McCarty, to refuse all supplies and to drive the two men out of the country. Matters came to an issue in the spring of 1781, when Bentley, who was under public prosecution by the court, announced his intention of carrying his case to Virginia. He and Dodge were very anxious to leave the county, moreover, for the purpose of collecting the money on certificates that they had gathered.

The Illinois people determined to present their side also by memorials to the governor of Virginia; but documents they dispatched never reached their destination. At least one of the messengers was killed and the papers were taken by the British. The information gained from these memorials raised the British hopes of securing possession of the Illinois villages without bloodshed, and a delegation was sent to St. Louis for the purpose of negotiating. It accomplished little, although there is plenty of evidence to show that the Illinois people at this time would have been glad to change their allegiance.[43]

The winter of 1781–1782 seems to have been a rather quiet one. Captain Rogers with thirty troops spent some time at Kaskaskia during 1781 but withdrew before the end of the year. About this time Clark informed the governor that only a few spies were kept at any of the villages. It is possible that John Dodge returned with Rogers and continued his career of violence. His partner, Bentley, had for the most part failed to cash his certificates in Virginia and there had died.

The year 1782 was to be the last one of the war. Rocheblave, the former acting commander of the Illinois, had returned to Canada and had laid before the government a plan for the reconquest of the Illinois country, but his suggestions were without influence. Several parties of Indians were sent into the northwest, however, and one of these defeated the frontiersmen at Blue Licks. General Clark retaliated for these

[43] For instance, one of the most important men of Cahokia, Antoine Girardin, wrote to the British authorities that he felt certain that if a force of British soldiers without any Indians should be sent to the Illinois country the people would receive them with rejoicing, and he offered his assistance in this undertaking. Girardin to Sinclair, November 3, 1781, in Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 559 ff.

Indian inroads by leading a large body of volunteers against the Miami villages and inflicting severe punishment upon them. It was his last achievement in the war. On November 30, a few days after the Miami campaign, a provisional treaty of peace was signed by Great Britain and the United States. On January 18, 1783, the Illinois regiment was disbanded; and the following July Clark was relieved of his command.[44]

The Virginia troops under Clark had succeeded in maintaining their hold on the Illinois villages for four trying years but their efforts affected the terms of the final treaty, if at all, only indirectly by influencing the action of the continental congress. There was a difference of opinion among the delegates of that body concerning the western boundaries that should be demanded at the close of the war. Strong opposition to claiming the ultramontane region was apparent, particularly in the northern colonies, which were more interested in securing fishing rights off Newfoundland. Furthermore, these northerners feared that the possession of the west would only increase the influence of the southern states in the councils of the nation. Generally the south favored the most extensive boundaries. The delegates from this region had watched with great satisfaction the settlement of Kentucky and the occupation of the Illinois country by Clark, for such events furnished for their position strong arguments, which they used so successfully that in various resolutions concerning the extent of territory to be demanded they secured the requisite votes in congress in favor of the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes as the western boundary.[45]

The conflict in congress corresponded with a difference of opinion among the allies at war with Great Britain. The object of France in assisting the revolting colonies had been the humiliation of the country which had struck a severe blow

[44] English, *Conquest of the Old Northwest,* 2:783; James, "Significant Events During the Last Year of the Revolution in the West," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings,* 1912-1913, p. 239 ff.

[45] The above account of the treaty of peace is based on the following: Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Shelburne,* 2:111 ff.; Phillips, *The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution;* Phillips, "American Opinions Regarding the West," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings,* 1913-1914, 7:286 ff.; Alvord, "Virginia and the West; an Interpretation," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* 3:35 ff.

at French prestige in the last war. French statesmen had no desire to recover for their country the American territory that had been lost. The independence of the revolting colonies with such boundaries as might be won would be a supreme satisfaction.

Not until Spain joined France in the war in 1779 did the issue over the boundaries arise. Spain possessed the right bank of the Mississippi and naturally desired to secure as complete a control of the navigation of that avenue of trade as possible. Consequently it looked with unfriendly eyes upon the frontiersmen who were settling in the west, so near to its poorly fortified and garrisoned posts. Moreover, by conquest Spain had secured footholds across the river, at Natchez and elsewhere in West Florida, upon which might be based a claim to the eastern bank.

Between the conflicting wishes of his allies, the Comte de Vergennes, principal minister of France, found himself in an embarrassing situation. His efforts to influence both to abate their demands met with little success; but he finally persuaded the Spanish government to be satisfied with a strip of country on the eastern bank a hundred miles wide, extending from about the Ohio to the mouth of the Mississippi. Spain, fearing the Americans as neighbors, suggested that Great Britain be granted the Old Northwest and that an Indian reservation be established to the south of the Ohio. Probably Vergennes regarded this as a possible solution of the perplexing problem.

The statesmen of Great Britain made no effort to secure the territory that their foes seemed so anxious to grant them. Instead, the negotiations concerning the boundaries of the new nation proceeded along most unexpected lines. In the spring of 1782 the British ministry under Lord North, which had conducted the American Revolution in the face of great criticism, was overthrown; and its opponents were raised to power, with the result that Lord Shelburne was the minister to exert the greatest influence on the peace negotiations. Through his former experiences with the colonies Shelburne had come to understand the inevitable and inexorable thrust of the American population westward and was unwilling to try to prevent what he looked upon as almost a force of nature.

Furthermore, the American commissioner then in Paris was Shelburne's intimate and admired friend, Benjamin Franklin. The two friends opened their negotiations concerning the treaty of peace in a most informal and amiable manner, renewing, as it were, their conversations of former years concerning the best means of promoting the welfare of mankind. Under such circumstances they easily reached an understanding about the western boundaries of the new state, even before Franklin was joined by his colleagues, John Adams and John Jay.

Lord Shelburne raised almost no objection to the demand the American commissioners were instructed to make for the Mississippi and the Great Lakes as boundaries. He was impressed by Franklin's arguments that generosity on the part of Great Britain would regain the love of the Americans and that there would always be danger of friction along a western boundary where were congregated "the most disorderly of the people, who being far removed from the eyes and control of their respective governments, are most bold in committing offenses against neighbors, and are forever occasioning complaints, and furnishing matter for fresh differences between their states."[46] To Shelburne's liberal mind the argument appealed greatly, and the success of the American diplomats in the treaty signed on September 3, 1783, must be attributed in large measure to the idealism of the prime minister of Great Britain. He yielded to the United States the Old Northwest, although the greater portion of it was occupied by British troops and Indians.

Lord Shelburne felt a justifiable pride in this act; in the year 1797, after Great Britain had finally withdrawn its troops from the posts of the Great Lakes, he wrote to an American friend: "I cannot express to you the satisfaction I have felt in seeing the forts [of the Northwest] given up, I may tell you in confidence what may astonish you, as it did me, that up to the very last debate in the House of Lords, the Ministry did not appear to comprehend the policy upon which the boundary

[46] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Shelburne*, 2: 122. This quotation is taken from Franklin's argument for the cession of Canada, but the thought expressed runs through the whole negotiation.

line was drawn, and persist in still considering it as a measure of necessity not of choice. However it is indifferent who understands it. The deed is done: and a strong foundation laid for eternal amity between England and America."[47]

[47] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Shelburne*, 2:202, note; Alvord, "Virginia and the West; an Interpretation," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3:38.

XVII. THE PERIOD OF THE CITY STATES

THE period from the close of the Revolutionary War to the year 1790, when the United States sent its first civil representative to the Illinois country, was a time of chaos in the villages of the American Bottom. The only government which existed was without legal authority and without power to enforce its laws. Although for lack of other names it is necessary to call this government the county of Illinois, legally the county had come to an end. It had been established by an act of the Virginia assembly in December, 1778, to last for one year and thereafter until the end of the next session of the assembly and had been continued by renewal of the act in May, 1780, for a similar period. Virginia was at this time negotiating with the United States concerning the cession of its territory in the far west and consequently the next assembly took no action. When the assembly of Virginia convened on January 5, 1782, therefore, the county of Illinois as a legal organization came to an end.[1]

During these years of neglect the government in the villages of the Illinois country resembled that of the ancient Greek city-state more closely than any that has elsewhere existed in the western hemisphere. Practically cut off from the rest of the world and from the only power which might legally exercise authority over it, each village was forced to become a self-governing community. Results varied widely: in Kaskaskia the history is one of struggle and strife; in Cahokia the French inhabitants furnished an excellent example of orderly government.

The tradition about the wealth of the Illinois country that had attracted the Philadelphia firms in the sixties, still lingered, and the stories told by the soldiers returning from Clark's

[1] Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois*, 31. This chapter is based on the introduction to Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, wherein is printed the complete record of the Cahokia court and other documents. The documents concerning the turbulent events in Kaskaskia are printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*.

expedition added to the interest in the region. Hoping to find fortunes on the banks of the Mississippi, about one hundred and fifty pioneers, in spite of Virginia's prohibition of settlements, found their way to the French villages during the troublous years of the Revolution and those immediately following. Some of these settled within the villages, others on farms in the outlying districts, where they received land grants from the village officials. In 1779 Bellefontaine, the first permanent village of purely English-speaking men north of the Ohio river, was settled. It received an increase to its population in 1781, after the abandonment of Fort Jefferson at the "Iron Banks." Prominent among these pioneers were James Moore, Henry and Nicholas Smith, Shadrach Bond, William Oglesby, and Robert Watts.[2]

In 1782 Lardner Clark and William Wycoff from New Jersey came into the west in search of wealth. They immediately established a store in Kaskaskia and opened up business relations throughout the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. For many years much of their merchandise was bought in Philadelphia, the *entrepôt* of the Illinois country; but they also purchased goods directly from Detroit or from northern merchants who came to the Illinois seeking furs. Clark and Wycoff soon perceived that the settlements in Kentucky offered the best opportunity for a lucrative trade; already there was a well-established trade route, for the Illinois villages and Vincennes had become the intermediaries between Kentucky and the British markets of the north. To promote the interests of the firm Clark went to Nashville and set up a store, the first in the village. Thenceforth the relation between Nashville and the Illinois country was very close, and traders were constantly passing from one to the other.[3]

The village of Bellefontaine soon became large enough, in the opinion of its settlers, to require a separate government, and by petitioning the court at Kaskaskia the Americans secured

[2] Bond, uncle of the first governor of the state, came in 1779, Moore in 1781, Oglesby in 1782. In Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 421, is printed a list of the English-speaking settlers under the date of their settlement. For a longer list see *ibid.*, 443.

[3] Provine, "Lardner Clark, Nashville's First Merchant and Foremost Citizen," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, 3:28 ff.

the right to elect a justice of the peace. They were, however, never satisfied with this subordination to the French, whom they held in contempt and regarded as aliens settled on American soil. This attitude of the Americans found a champion in the redoubtable John Dodge. From the time of his second appearance in the country in 1781, Dodge was working to overthrow the French court of justice. He gathered around him the discontented of the Americans and was able to attach to his faction several of the principal Frenchmen.

Opposed to Dodge was the French court, supported by the majority of the French people, who clung tenaciously to the legal foundation established by John Todd and General Clark. The laws of Virginia and the bill of rights were for them the palladia of their liberties, and these they quoted against the aggressive Dodge and his henchmen. The judges themselves, however, did not uphold good order.

A third party in this struggle was led by Richard Winston, appointed acting county lieutenant by John Todd. This party, however, was never strong; Winston, trying to balance one warring faction against another, aroused the distrust of both, with the result that in the emergency which soon overtook him he was persecuted by one and deserted by the other.

Between Winston and Dodge was a deep-seated hostility, dating from 1780. In the contest for power Winston proved himself no match for the unscrupulous Dodge, who finally had the county lieutenant thrown into prison on the charge that he "has been guilty of treasonable expressions Against the State and officer who have the hon^{r} of wearing Commission in the Service of their Country damn^{d} them all and said they were all a set of thieves and Robers and only come to the Country for that purpose."[4] In this action the form of law was maintained by Dodge, and witnesses were illegally summoned to prove his charge. The French court gave Winston in this emergency no assistance, and he remained in jail sixteen days. Only after his release did he persuade the court to hear the case.

Although the court acquitted him, he was greatly angered; and in November, 1782, when he felt that his authority was

[4]Arrest of Richard Winston, April 29, 1782, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 273.

sufficiently reëstablished, he abolished the court. From that day until June, 1787, Kaskaskia was obliged to get along as best it could without a semblance of authorized justice.

Meanwhile Winston had determined to go to Virginia in order to collect the money due on the loans he had impoverished himself to make. A few Kaskaskians were persuaded to appoint him agent; and with the former clerk of the court, François Carbonneaux, he started on his journey. At an opportune moment news came that commissioners from Virginia, appointed for the purpose of investigating the financial situation in this far western land, had arrived at the Ohio; but though Winston hastened to lay before them his complaints, he was eventually obliged to accompany them to Virginia; here he died shortly afterwards in great poverty.

Before his departure Richard Winston, on January 8, 1783, appointed as his successor Jacques Timothe Boucher, sieur de Monbreun. The Sieur de Monbreun had been born in Boucherville, Canada, about thirty-six years before. While still a young man he had come west and had established himself at Vincennes, where he won the confidence of Lieutenant Governor Abbott during the latter's short stay in the village. He had readily united with the people of Vincennes in acknowledging the sovereignty of Virginia, had been appointed lieutenant in the militia of the village, and was one of the officers captured by Hamilton when the British retook the place. He later served as lieutenant in the Illinois battalion until the fall of 1782, when the necessities of his family compelled him to ask for his discharge and pay. His letters to Clark reveal him as a man proud of his lineage and sensitive in matters of honor. His reputation extends beyond the confines of Illinois, for he became one of the early pioneers in Nashville, Tennessee.

Lack of legal authority made the deputy county lieutenant's position exceedingly difficult. The discontinuance of the court necessitated his acting as sole judge and deprived him of the moral support of the best citizens. He was obliged to maintain peaceful relations with the Indians without any financial resources. He even was forced at one time to uphold the honor of the United States against the Spanish commandant at St. Louis, who had ordered the seizure upon American soil of two

deserters from the Spanish army. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that he failed.

Affairs were further complicated by the presence of British merchants who had rushed into the Illinois region to capture the Indian trade. Some traders from Mackinac who had a store in Cahokia were particularly conspicuous in the competition in the winter of 1783–1784. Some of them were unquestionably British agents, sent to spy out the situation.[5]

Monbreun failed, as Todd and Winston had failed before him, to preserve peace between the factions in the village of Kaskaskia. In a memorial to Virginia he has recorded the policy which he adopted "in quieting animosities between the French Natives and American Settlers." He wrote: "Without troops to oppose the hostile designs of the savages, without any coercive means to keep under subjection a country where a number of restless spirits were exciting commotions and troubles, the greater circumspection and management became necessary, and the Commandant was induced to temporize with all parties in order to preserve tranquility, peace and harmony in the Country."[6]

Monbreun's "temporizing" ended in the control of the village by the settlers of English speech under the leadership of John Dodge, who took full advantage of the anomalous condition. Dodge seized the old French fort on the bluff — now incorrectly called Fort Gage — fortified it with building material and two cannons from the Jesuit building known as Fort Clark, and defied what was left of the civil government of Kaskaskia. He was more successful than Winston in building up a party among the French, some of the most important citizens of the village joining his standard. Like a tyrant of a Greek city this Connecticut Yankee lorded it over the whole community: he bullied the people, he struck them with his sword, he insulted them and fought with them, and they pusillanimously submitted. The French claimed later that they were unable to communicate their needs to congress, because Dodge took precautions to have their messenger killed *en route.*

[5] Narrative of Perrault in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 516.

[6] Memorial of Monbreun, November 11, 1794, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records,* 355.

This tyranny was maintained in the village until 1786. The initial impetus to an uprising against Dodge came from George Rogers Clark, who advised the French to set up their former court, advice that the French did not feel themselves strong enough to follow immediately; but shortly afterwards there came to the Illinois Joseph Parker, interested in a land speculation; and his presence offered an opportunity to the French party to send a communication to congress. On June 2 a very earnest petition was drawn up asking for an immediate government, because of the wrongs the inhabitants were suffering from the British merchants, who, supported by John Dodge, threatened to place the country under the law of their state. At the same time a similar petition from the Cahokians was sent.

This petition from the French party, read in congress on August 23, caused that body to hesitate about its action. It had considered already two petitions supposedly from the French people. The first of these, asking for someone with power to govern, had been presented by Carbonneaux, the former clerk and follower of Richard Winston; the second was a petition prepared by John Dodge on June 22, 1784, which being accompanied by a letter from the acting county lieutenant, Monbreun, had an official appearance. Upon receipt of these two, congress had decided in February and March, 1785, to send a commissioner to investigate land titles, to have magistrates elected, and to organize the militia, but for some reason no commissioner had been sent. After consideration of the new petition, congress instructed its secretary to inform the inhabitants that "Congress have under their consideration the plan of a temporary government for the said district, and that its adoption will be no longer protracted than the importance of the subject and a due regard to their interest may require."[7]

During this critical period the French party received an important addition in the person of a new priest. His coming was connected with events occurring in Quebec, in Baltimore, and even in far-off Rome. The establishment of the United States of America by the treaty of 1783 necessitated some readjustment of the administrative machinery of the Roman

[7] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), II: 146. Parker took this message back to the Kaskaskians.

Catholic church. Accordingly, on June 9, 1784, the territory of the new state was organized as a distinct unit, over which the Reverend John Carroll of Baltimore was appointed prefect apostolic.

Through an oversight, no action was taken to change the former limits of the diocese of Quebec, so that the ecclesiastical relations of the west were not legally altered, in spite of the manifest intention of the authorities at Rome to extend the jurisdiction of the new prefect apostolic to the limits of the United States. Thus was laid the foundation for a conflict of prerogatives which might have had serious consequences, had not both the officials involved proved themselves judicious, patient, and considerate. The whole subject was finally referred to Rome, and the necessary correction in accordance with the purpose of the act creating the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the United States was adjusted without difficulty.[8]

Before this adjustment was accomplished, priests had been sent from both Canada and the United States to take charge of the spiritual wants of the Old Northwest. In the summer of the year 1784 Father Payet went from Detroit to Vincennes, where he remained until September. Later he was sent on a tour of inspection to Kaskaskia and Cahokia.[9] Father Gibault, who in 1785, in spite of advantageous offers, had left the Spanish territory to take up his residence at Vincennes, continued to look upon himself as the vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec, to whom he made many appeals for recognition; and it was some time before he learned of the changes in the ecclesiastical situation. Even when this was forced upon his attention by the arrival of priests from the east, he was unwilling to submit to the new jurisdiction.

The first priest sent out by Prefect Apostolic Carroll was the Carmelite father, Paul de St. Pierre, or to give him his baptismal name, Paul Heiligenstein. Little is known of him except that he was a German monk who had come to this country with the French army; at the time he went west he had

[8] Correspondence printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 581 ff.

[9] Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, 465 ff. Reverend Father Bernard, a Capuchin, served the people of Cahokia for some time after he was appointed priest at St. Louis. This is told by Father Gibault in his letter of April 1, 1783, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 520; see also introduction, *ibid.*

reached the age of thirty-four years. He had some trouble about his papers, which did not prove that he had received permission from his superior to remain in America. In 1785, he took up his mission at Cahokia, where he watched over the spiritual needs of his flock until 1789, and from all that can be learned of his ministry he won the affection and confidence of his people. The Cahokians built a new priest's house and began erecting a new church at a cost of from 15,000 to 16,000 livres — a building which stands today as one of the ancient monuments of the white occupation of the upper Mississippi valley.[10]

For the purpose of organizing the Catholic church in the Old Northwest, the prefect apostolic selected Father Pierre Huet de la Valinière, a priest whose stormy career up to the time of his appointment was probably the cause of some hesitancy about sending him into this distant region. He was born in France on January 10, 1732; after preparing for the ministry he went to Canada, where from the time of his ordination in 1754 till 1779 he served five different parishes. At the time of the invasion of the Revolutionary troops he was accused of favoring the cause of the revolting colonies and was sent as a prisoner to England. He was finally released and permitted to depart for France, where he applied for service in the French army in America. Whether or not he received an appointment is unknown, but later he was in Martinique and San Domingo. In 1785 he appeared again in Canada, but after a short stay, filled with such storms as he raised wherever he settled, La Valinière left Canada for the United States with a letter of recommendation from the bishop of Quebec. The new prefect apostolic received him kindly, for recruits to the new diocese were greatly needed. After a year of service in Philadelphia and New York the appointment of vicar-general to the Illinois was offered him. He accepted, and, in April, 1786, started from Philadelphia on his journey westward.[11]

[10] For an account of Father de St. Pierre see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, introduction; but a much fuller biography may be found in Rothensteiner, *Der erste deutsch-amerikanische Priester des Westens.*

[11] For the life of this priest see "Father Peter Huet de la Valinière," in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, 2:203, note; Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, introduction.

The situation existing in the Illinois villages at the time of La Valinière's arrival was such as would have aroused a less excitable nature to fighting heat. Neither Father Gibault at Vincennes nor Father de St. Pierre at Cahokia was ready to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the new vicar-general. At Kaskaskia ruled John Dodge with a rod of iron over the cowed French people. The people themselves were in a condition thus described by Father Gibault: "You know neither these regions nor the manners and vices of those who inhabit them. In Canada all is civilized, here all is barbarous. You are in the midst of justice, here injustice dominates. There is no distinction from the greatest to the least except that of force; of the tongue, pernicious, calumniating and slanderous; of crying out very loud, and giving forth all sorts of insults and oaths. Everybody is in poverty, which engenders theft and rapine. Wantonness and drunkenness pass here as elegance and amusements quite in style. Breaking of limbs, murder by means of a dagger, sabre, or sword (for he who wills carries one) are common, and pistols and guns are but toys in these regions. And who has one to fear but the strongest, unless one will be the greater traitor. No commandant, no troops, no prison, no hangman, always as in small places a crowd of relatives or allies who sustain each other; in a word absolute impunity for these and ill luck for the stranger. I could name a great number of persons assassinated in all the villages of this region, French, English and Spanish without any consequence whatsoever; but I shall satisfy myself in naming two recently murdered: M. Guyon the younger, who studied at Montreal, killed his father-in-law with a gun at Kaskaskia; and yesterday evening one named Bellerose killed another man here with a knife. In a month I fear I may be able to count ten of these murders. In spiritual matters everything is the same or even worse. The most solemn feasts and Sundays are days given up to dances and drunkenness, and consequently to quarrels and battles. With dissension in the homes, fathers and mothers in discord with their children, girls suborned and ravished in the woods, [and] a thousand other disorders which you are able to infer from these."[12] This picture is probably overdrawn, but in the

[12] Gibault to bishop, June 6, 1786, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 542 ff.

eyes of a religious enthusiast such as Father de la Valinière it exactly portrayed Kaskaskia.

The new vicar-general threw himself immediately into conflict with everyone in authority, both religious and political. He quarreled with Father de St. Pierre of Cahokia and took it upon himself to write a very severe letter of censure concerning him to the people of that village. The Cahokians, however, had learned to love their priest and on April 22, 1787, returned a spirited answer, which ended in a complete ecclesiastical severance between the two villages.

The difficulties created in church affairs were trifling compared with the storm Father de la Valinière stirred up by his interference in politics. His revolutionary spirit was just the stimulus needed to arouse the French against John Dodge. The priest threw himself whole-heartedly into the struggle and made himself the leader of the French party; this position of leadership he did not hold long, but during the first months of his ministry events of importance occurred.

In the summer of 1786 the appointment of a citizen of St. Philippe as civil and criminal judge was forced; and on August 14, Timothe de Monbreun, who had supported Dodge, was obliged to resign and to appoint as deputy county lieutenant a consistent supporter of the French party, Jean Baptiste Barbau of Prairie du Rocher. Barbau was sixty-five years old when he was called upon to lead the French in their struggle for political liberty.[13] In January, 1787, Joseph Parker reached Kaskaskia with the message of hope from the continental congress. The people were wild with joy at having at last succeeded in communicating with congress, even though the government which they had so ardently desired was still to be determined upon.

During the fall of 1786, George Rogers Clark, without official authority from the United States, led a force of Kentucky militiamen against the Indians in the Old Northwest. Deciding to garrison Vincennes, he sent John Rice Jones to buy provisions in the Illinois country, where the name of Clark still possessed a magic charm. Jones was well received

[13] His parents had come directly from France to New Orleans, where Barbau was probably born.

by the people, and his proposed purchases were guaranteed by a prominent American merchant lately arrived in Kaskaskia, John Edgar, whose relations with the French were far more friendly than were those of his countrymen.

Dodge, who knew that Clark was acting illegally in invading the territory of the United States, still possessed power, and his opposition prevented the delivery of the supplies. Jones thereupon returned to Vincennes and soon came back to Kaskaskia with troops. The narrator's account of what then occurred is interesting. "Mr. Jones seemed a fine gentleman who caused no hurt to anybody, but he entered in the above said fort on the hill occupied by John Dodge, he threatned him to cast him out from it if he continued to be contrary to America, as he was before. he stood there some days with his troops, during which time the wheat has been delivered peaceably and nobody has been hurted."[14]

With the rising anger of the French and the promised assistance of Clark, Dodge recognized that his position was a dangerous one. He therefore collected his property some time in the spring and crossed to the Spanish side, leaving in the fort a guard to watch such of his possessions as he had left behind.

The departure of Dodge brought no peace to Kaskaskia village. Since the expected authority to form a government did not arrive from congress, the people began to agitate for some immediate form of judiciary. They naturally turned to the one government which they knew, the civil organization established by John Todd. The old court offered a semblance of legality. The clamors of the Americans were heeded in this revival of the court, and they were granted the franchise. Familiar with the use of the ballot, the newcomers concentrated their votes and succeeded in electing three of their own number to office: Henry Smith — later made president of the court — John McElduff, and Thomas Hughes. The three other candidates elected were Frenchmen who had held office before.

The first session was held on June 5, 1787, probably without the presence of the French justices, who were not willing to admit Americans to the bench. Two days later the French justices posted on the door of the church a public memorial

[14] Letter of La Valinière, August 25, 1787, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 426.

setting forth their objections to the new arrangement, dwelling upon the impossibility of the American and French judges understanding each other and the hopelessness of finding a satisfactory interpreter. In the face of this ultimatum the two parties separated; Bellefontaine with its English-speaking inhabitants ceased to belong to the district of Kaskaskia.

The day after the protest the Kaskaskians drew up an agreement in which they promised that the court should remain French as it had been constituted by John Todd and that the Frenchmen receiving the next largest number of votes should be added to the list of judges. The number of signatures to the document was not large, but the presence of John Edgar's name gave some promise that his influence would be thrown on the side of peace.

The question of the court had hardly been settled when, on August 17, Colonel Harmar, commandant of the United States troops in the Old Northwest, appeared in the village. For the first time the French of the Illinois gazed upon the flag of the United States, the nation to which they had for several years belonged.[15] Harmar had been sent to the Illinois to make a general inspection of conditions and in particular to put an end to the anarchy at Vincennes caused by Clark's actions. He was accompanied by Barthélemi Tardiveau, a French mercantile adventurer, who had had relations with the Kentucky separatists and was a personal friend of John Dodge. Although Tardiveau had very little knowledge of conditions existing in the Illinois, Harmar was persuaded that he was the best informed man in the country and made him his interpreter and chief adviser. Dodge returned to his fort above Kaskaskia where he entertained the bibulous colonel, whose associates from this time were almost exclusively members of Dodge's party. Even after Harmar had visited the orderly village of Cahokia, his opinion of the French remained biased by the influence of these men. He reported: "I have to remark that all these people are entirely unacquainted with what Americans

[15] The flag was not the stars and stripes, which was to remain exclusively the naval emblem for many years. The flag carried by Harmar was that of the army, a spread eagle with shield and arrows, the thirteen stars being grouped above. Ballard Thruston, *The Origin and Evolution of the United States Flag*, figure 15.

call liberty. Trial by jury, etc., they are strangers to. A commandant with a few troops to give them orders is the best form of government for them; it is what they have been accustomed to."[16]

Although the majority of the French were ready to accept without question any disposition that might be made of them, there was a minority party which chafed at so passive an attitude. The leader of this faction was the vicar-general, Father Huet de la Valinière, and his most important follower, the clerk, Pierre Langlois, who had been an adherent of Richard Winston and had become an irreconcilable enemy of John Dodge. By this time, however, the priest had lost his influence over the French by his own tyrannical methods. By his close adherence to the canonical law and by the harsh and personal attacks against individuals in his sermons he had incurred the enmity of every community of the American Bottom.

He and his associates were not willing to lay aside the old issues and were particularly exasperated that Tardiveau, the friend of John Dodge, should be the spokesman for the villagers; for, said they, "that frenchman who speaketh easily the English language is come lately here with the Coll. Harmar whom he inspired with sentiments very different from those which we could expect from a gentleman in his place. He deceived him in their way as he was deceived himself, he made him stay, live, drink, and dwell only in the houses of the friends of Dodge, he accompanied him every where like his interpreter, but he could not shew him the truth being himself very ignorant of it, and he gave allways an evil idea to every word proceeding from those whom Dodge thought [to] be his enemies."[17]

Tardiveau could not ignore this attack and declared that Langlois was opposed to any change in the regulations made by Todd. To justify himself, Langlois, accompanied by the priest, presented himself before Colonel Harmar and said: "*We desire and expect every day one regulation from the honl Congress but now till it may come, having none, we did by common consent aggree to keep the same brought by Mr. Todd,*

[16] Harmar to the secretary of war, November 24, 1787, in Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:32.

[17] Letter of La Valinière, August 25, 1787, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 426

till the other may come, And Mr. Tardiveau would do better to deceive not others as he is deceived himself." The narrative continues: "Afterward the same Mr. Langlois having shown the above said proofs against John Dodge who was present, the said Dodge, was so much angry that in the presence of the Lieutenant Makidoul [Ensign McDowell] with several others in the yard he did cast himself upon the said Mr. Langlois and putting his fingers in his eyes and hair he would have made him blind, if the officer had not cryed against him."[18]

Harmar did not care to become mixed up in the local quarrel, which he probably regarded as beneath his notice, but he gave his support to law and order so far as to tell the inhabitants to obey the government which had been established. Dodge felt, however, that the victory belonged to him and, after the departure of Harmar and the troops, assembled his friends in his fort and " fyred four time each of his great cannons, beating the Drums etc."[19]

Harmar had brought to the American settlers who had received land grants from the various deputy county lieutenants and courts the discouraging news that such titles had no legal value, since congress had forbidden settlements on the north side of the Ohio. In this situation Tardiveau saw his opportunity. He agreed with 137 American settlers of Bellefontaine and Grand Ruisseau, a small settlement near Cahokia, to present their case before congress and to obtain for each of them a concession of land, in consideration of one-tenth of all land thus granted.

Tardiveau also represented to the French that their sufferings merited payment in land and offered to obtain for each of them a grant of five hundred acres on the same terms. The French, stimulated by the example of American speculators, readily took advantage of the offer. In all, fifty-two signed the contract at Kaskaskia, as did also the most representative citizens of Cahokia.[20]

The court which had been revived at Kaskaskia did not

[18] Letter of La Valinière, August 25, 1787, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 427.
[19] *Ibid.*, 428.
[20] Contract with the French, *ibid.*, 440; with English-speaking settlers, *ibid.*, 443. For the first memorials by Tardiveau see *ibid.*, 445 and 447, wherein the amount of land to be granted the French is mentioned.

long endure. The spirit of the French was broken, and their natural leaders had taken refuge on the Spanish shore; influenced by the example of the Americans, they themselves gave no obedience to the court which they had enthusiastically re-established.[21] The end of the court was without doubt hastened by the refusal to plead before it on the part of some merchants from Kentucky, who said that its judgments were without force, since under the recent act of congress neither the people nor the commanding officer had authority to appoint magistrates. The act referred to was the "Ordinance of 1787," which created a government for the Old Northwest and under which Arthur St. Clair began to act in 1788; but the villages of the Illinois were not to see their authorized chief for two years.

The later history of the city-state of Kaskaskia is one of disaster and disintegration, and it is little wonder that a large part of the people sought happier conditions on the Spanish side of the river. The Indians of the Old Northwest took up their tomahawks against the Americans and attacked the villages, sparing not even the Frenchmen. The Miami, Wea, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi were all counted as enemies. The Illinois villages suffered most, however, from the Piankashaw living on the Spanish bank, who were incited by the Spaniards to burn and murder until the inhabitants should be forced to take refuge under the Spanish government. On October 8, 1789, John Dodge, happy in an opportunity to secure revenge, led a band of these Indians and a few whites into the village of Kaskaskia and attempted to carry off some slaves belonging to John Edgar. Although he failed, the lives of Edgar, his wife, and John Rice Jones, a late comer to the village, were for a time in the greatest of danger.

The Spaniards supplemented these efforts to force the Illinois settlers into their fold by attempts to entice them across the river. Large land grants on the western shore were freely offered by Governor Miro, and generous promises were made to the French priests in the Illinois villages. Father de St. Pierre at Cahokia and later Father Gibault transferred their allegiance to Spain. At this same time George Morgan was making a settlement at New Madrid and advertising very en-

[21] Edgar to Hamtramck, October 28, 1789, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 513.

ticing opportunities in his new settlement. Lastly, the clause of the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery caused the French great anxiety; and both the Spaniards and Morgan openly assured them that they would lose their human property.

The result of such inducements, combined with the hardships which the French had endured during these years and the long-deferred fulfillment of their dream of peace and independence, was a striking decrease in the population of Kaskaskia. When George Rogers Clark occupied the village in 1778, there were about five hundred white inhabitants. In 1783 there were one hundred and ninety-four heads of families, thirty-nine of whom were newly arrived Americans; still the figures indicate that the French population had altered only slightly. By the census of 1787, there were only one hundred and ninety-one male inhabitants in the village. The period of the greatest anarchy and emigration occurred between the years 1787 and 1790; and by the latter year there remained only forty-four heads of families, a decrease of over seventy-seven per cent in the French population of the village since 1783. Serious as was the loss in numbers, the loss in leaders was even more enervating; by 1790 there remained scarcely one of the men who had been influential among the people throughout the period of the county of Illinois.

The picture of the village of Kaskaskia in these last days, as described by its people in a petition to Major Hamtramck, commander at Vincennes, is one of utter misery and despair. They wrote: "Our horses, horned cattle, & corn are stolen & destroyed without the power of making any effectual resistance: Our houses are in ruin & decay; our lands are uncultivated; debtors absconded & absconding; our little commerce destroyed. We are apprehensive of a dearth of corn, and our best prospects are misery and distress, or what is more than probable an untimely death by the hands of savages.

"We are well convinced that all these misfortunes have befallen us for want of some Superior or commanding authority; for ever since the cession of this Territory to Congress we have been neglected as an abandoned people, to encounter all the difficulties that are always attendant upon anarchy & confusion; neither did we know from authority until latterly, to

what power we were subject. The greater part of our citizens have left the country on this account to reside in the Spanish dominions; others are now following, and we are fearful, nay, certain, that without your assistance, the small remainder will be obliged to follow their example."[22]

The people begged Major Hamtramck to send twenty soldiers with an officer to maintain order and to give them authority to establish a civil government. John Edgar accompanied the petition with an offer to furnish barracks and supplies for the soldiers at the very lowest price until the governor could make other arrangements. For such an expedition Hamtramck had neither authority nor finances; but he did forward the petition to the governor and so far exceeded his powers as to authorize the formation of a court of justice. This was never established, however, since justices without troops would have no means of enforcing the law.

The trials of the last year broke the courage of John Edgar, who had used his influence to promote peace and to bring a government to the disordered and disheartened village. In November, 1789, he wrote: "The spring it is impossible I can stand my ground, surrounded as we are by Savage enemies. I have waited five years in hopes of a Government; I shall still wait until March, as I may be able to withstand them in the winter season, but if no succor nor government should then arrive, I shall be compelled to abandon the country, & I shall go to live at St. Louis. Inclination, interest & love for the country prompt me to reside here, but when in so doing it is ten to one but both my life & property will fall a sacrifice, you nor any impartial mind can blame me for the part I shall take."[23] Fortunately Edgar was not compelled to abandon the country of his adoption, for in the month designated Governor St. Clair arrived in the village of Kaskaskia.

From this dismal picture of Kaskaskia, it is a pleasure to turn to the village of Cahokia. Though it had troubles similar in kind to those at Kaskaskia, they were never so virulent; and the court of the district of Cahokia was able to establish itself and its authority so securely that even abandonment by Virginia

[22] People to Hamtramck, September 14, 1789, in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 510.

[23] Edgar to Hamtramck, October 28, 1789, *ibid.*, 513.

and the United States could not shake it. A letter from the state's attorney, Joseph Labuxiere, compares the conditions existing in the two villages: "The misunderstanding of the magistrates of Kaskaskia and the extreme disorder of the business of the individuals, occasioned by some persons greedy for money, have compelled me to withdraw with my family to Cahokia, where I have found inhabitants filled with unity of peace and fidelity to the states, and a court of justice which they are careful to administer with equity to those who ask its help."[24]

Another fact gives striking proof of the condition described by Labuxiere. At the beginning of the period the population of Cahokia numbered about 300 inhabitants. In the year 1787, when a careful census was made, there were 240 male inhabitants, or a total population of over 400; and in 1790 Cahokia was capable of supporting three companies of militia while Kaskaskia had but one. Thus while Kaskaskia was decreasing, Cahokia was growing both in size and in importance and becoming the "metropolis" of the American Bottom.

As far as can be learned, François Trottier *dit* des Ruisseau was the commandant of the militia throughout the entire period. A contemporary who knew him testifies that he was "grandly housed" and that his home had a "great furnished hall."[25] It was due largely to his efficient administration of the police that the village prospered. The justices were elected annually by the assembly of the people until the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, when, in anticipation of a new government, regular elections ceased and the same justices continued in office. In August, 1788, the last election in the county of Illinois was held to elect three magistrates to fill vacancies made by resignation.

The relation of Cahokia to the county government was never very close. The people of that village seem to have had little respect for the Kaskaskians; in their petition to congress in 1786 they begged that body not to submit them to the jurisdiction of the southern village, because they knew "the incapacity, spite and partiality of the subjects who might exercise

[24] Labuxiere to congress, July 17, 1786, in Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 589.
[25] Narrative of Perrault in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 517.

it."[26] The high-sounding title of deputy county lieutenant meant little more to the Cahokians than head of Kaskaskia.

It has been seen that the Kaskaskians complained tha. some Mackinac merchants had established a store at Cahokia. The complaint was based on facts. After the treaty of peace many British merchants, some bearing names famous in the west, found their way to the village. They practically monopolized for a time the fur trade of the Illinois; but the Cahokians, finding that they interfered with the Indians in the neighborhood, published stringent regulations; a limited monopoly of sales to the Indians was granted one of the citizens, and all others were prohibited from selling liquor to them. When the Indian outrages reached their climax in the year 1789 and Kaskaskians were begging the military officer at Vincennes to send troops for their defense, the court of Cahokia still further regulated intercourse with the Indians and forbade all sale of liquor by anyone.

Exactly how the Cahokians were affected by the intrigues of the Spaniards in the later years, it is impossible to say. At the end of the record of the sessions of the court there is an unexplained mention of the punishment of a Frenchman from St. Louis who was evidently attempting to undermine the power of the court; but once again that body was able to maintain its authority; and, from the complaint of the prisoner, it would appear that the support of the villagers was given to the government.

Cahokia was not disturbed by the Americans to the same degree as was Kaskaskia, for the Virginia troops did not remain in the village after 1780, and very few men of English speech took up their residence there. Aside from those of the British merchants only four non-French names appear in the later years as those of actual citizens, Thomas Brady, Philippe Engel, Isaac Levy, and William Arundel, and of these the first three seem to have become completely gallicized and to have married French women.

The American settlers who came in closest contact with the Cahokians resided in the village of Grand Ruisseau. In 1786 these were permitted by the magistrates to appoint a captain

[26] Cahokians to congress, July 15, 1786, in Alvord, *Cahokia Records*, 587.

of militia, but they remained subject to the jurisdiction of the court except in such cases as might be decided by arbitrators. Cahokia was not to escape wholly from trouble with these neighbors. After the Americans had failed in the spring of 1787 to capture control of the court of Kaskaskia, the settlers of Bellefontaine and Grand Ruisseau determined to establish a rival and independent court, for which purpose they held an election and chose magistrates. If the movement had been confined to the first named village, which was in the district of Kaskaskia, the Cahokia government might not have made any opposition; but the inclusion of the village of Grand Ruisseau was an affront to the one French court which had proved its right to exist. Fortunately for the Cahokians, the leaders of the revolution wished to supplant Robert Watts, the court's appointee, in his office of commandant. This aroused Watts to immediate action, particularly as his rival was James Piggott, a man who represented the more restless and impatient element among the Americans.

Watts came to Cahokia and addressed the court in Ciceronian periods. He pointed out the danger which threatened the law and order of the district by this innovation or revolution. The danger was not exaggerated. The court at Cahokia represented the only stable power in the Illinois at the time; and with a rival court of Americans at Grand Ruisseau and Bellefontaine, there would inevitably have followed disorders which might have taken on the character of a civil war.[27]

The action of the court of Cahokia was prompt and energetic. It prohibited the holding of any independent assemblies of the people or sessions of the proposed court and condemned the leaders of the movement to be put in irons for twenty-four hours; and, in case they disobeyed the order of the court, they were to be driven from the territory. In striking contrast to the timidity and inefficiency of the court of Kaskaskia is the action recorded by the *huissier* under this decree against the Americans: "The present sentence has been executed the same day."[28]

This revolution occurred in August or early in September.

[27] For the documents in the case see Alvord, *Cahokia Records*.
[28] Sentence, September 17, 1787, *ibid.*, 605.

The Cahokia justices now wisely saw that the suppression of the revolution should be accompanied by some measures to satisfy the demands of the Americans. Those at Bellefontaine belonged by right to the Kaskaskia jurisdiction, but to expect from the Kaskaskia French the maintenance of law and order was hopeless. Therefore, when all the Americans of the Illinois petitioned for admittance to the district of Cahokia and the right of electing a justice of the peace at each of the two chief settlements, the petition was granted at the October session of the court; and the election of a justice and a militia officer at Bellefontaine and of a justice at Grand Ruisseau was confirmed on November 2. Thus around Cahokia there centered all the forces which made for peace and order. Even the American settlers, who had assisted in the overthrow of the court of Kaskaskia, were able to escape the anarchy which their presence had produced only by submitting to the Frenchmen of the northern village.

The court at Cahokia continued to perform its functions until other and more legal arrangements were made. On March 5, 1790, Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, arrived in Kaskaskia. Two days before the Cahokia court held its usual meeting of the month; on the first of April the judges of the court heard suits brought before them. The last entry in their record is: "The Court adjourned to the first of May next." The court of the district of Cahokia which had been established in the county of Illinois by the state of Virginia never met again. These Frenchmen had kept faith; they had preserved order in their village and now quietly delivered the government into the hands of a legally constituted authority. On April 27 the representative of the United States erected the county of St. Clair and two days later appointed the judges of the new courts. The period of the government of the city-states was over.

XVIII. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WEST

WHILE these events were taking place in the villages on the Mississippi, developments even more momentous had changed thirteen colonies struggling for independence into a loose confederation of states and then had metamorphosed this union into a nation. The United States of North America had been born, had passed the age of feeble infancy, and had entered upon the period of adolescence.

The new state was confronted with the same complicated set of problems that the British empire had failed to solve. In the western wilderness those forces that had paralyzed the efforts of ministry after ministry of King George III were still alive: the antagonism between fur trader and land speculator persisted whether king or people reigned; Indian rights still prevented the appeasing of white men's land hunger; the uncertainty of boundaries between the states' dominion and that of the confederacy created an antagonism that threatened to bring about an impassé; and in the continental congress, as they had done before the board of trade, rival land companies were promoting their claims before men many of whom too frequently forgot the public interests in their private speculations. In the issue raised by the land speculators was involved the welfare of countless hordes of future home seekers. In these early years the question was raised: Should the western domain be exploited by big business or reserved for the real settlers? Vital interests of the new nation depended on the future organization of the west; and the outcome for years balanced in perilous uncertainty.

In the region of the upper Ohio, territory was claimed by two land companies, the Indiana Land Company and the Vandalia Land Company, composed of many men of political experience ready to use every device to secure their claims.[1] The

[1] With them was associated the Transylvania Land Company with its title to land in Kentucky purchased from the Cherokee.

speculators' demands for justice were artfully mingled with the cries for independence reverberating across the mountains from the settlers along the upper Ohio and in Kentucky and Tennessee.[2]

In the fight for the right to exploit the west there was involved the destiny of a company directly connected with the territory that had been occupied by the Virginia troops under George Rogers Clark. It has already been suggested[3] that possibly Clark's expedition had a special meaning to the Illinois Land Company and its associate, the Wabash Land Company; it is certain that these companies watched the military operation with anxious eyes, and upon assurance of its success sent to Williamsburg a representative who pleaded their cause in vain before the Virginia assembly. Disappointed in the attempt to persuade the Virginians to acknowledge an Indian title to land within their commonwealth, the companies, now united into the Illinois and Wabash Land Company, brought their case to the continental congress, where they joined forces with the other western land companies in the hope of making of their case a national issue.

The situation was very complicated. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, and the other southern states claimed by charter or treaty right the western territory with boundaries extending, with the exception of New York, to the Mississippi river; Virginia's claim, overlapping that of the northern states, included not only Kentucky but also the whole region north of the Ohio river. Against these state claims could be set the interests of the confederacy; east and west alike had been won by the heroism of the colonial troops and by the skill of the confederacy's diplomats. The future welfare of the union depended upon its guidance of the development of the trans-Allegheny region through concessions of homes to individuals.[4] Supporting the forces of national aspiration were the interested shareholders of the several land companies.

For several years of acrimonious debate, the outcome could not be foretold. In the end the cause of nationality won; but

[2] Turner, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," in *American Historical Review*, 1:70 ff.

[3] See above, p. 340.

[4] Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, 1:387.

the land companies were not the winners — they too were obliged to yield before the force of the army of home seekers. In spite of the fact that selfish interests prompted many who fought on the side of the union and claimed for the people the right to the land, their arguments were sound; a national domain meant national strength and unity.

In the struggle for dominion in the west there is no doubt that the land companies in order to obtain their purposes used every means: personal financial gain was held out to more than one member of the continental congress to win his sympathetic assistance; very early the Illinois and Wabash Land Company persuaded the French minister, Gérard, to become a member; and later Robert Morris, wielder of large financial interests in the confederacy, also consented to take stock in the company.[5] Even more important than such individuals, although the French minister exercised a controlling influence over a very large faction in the continental congress, were the members of the land company belonging to the commonwealth of Maryland, among whom may be mentioned Governor Thomas Johnson and Charles Carroll.[6]

It is fair to infer that the direct interest of many of Maryland's public men in the land company early drew that state's attention to the consideration of the west. At least Maryland was the first to take a positive stand against the particularistic interests of those states which claimed boundaries extending to the Mississippi river. The states with imperial boundaries gained the first contest, however, in spite of Maryland's opposition and succeeded in writing in the articles of confederation a

[5] *Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* (ed. Alvord); Jefferson to Rayneval, March 20, 1801, in *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), 8: 19-21. Gérard obtained the king's consent to join the company. Since he left America in 1779, the time of his joining the company must have been shortly after the news of Clark's success had reached the east.

[6] The other names are Matthew Ridley, William Russel, Mark Pringle, John Davidson, Samuel Chase, Daniel Hewes, John Swan, John Dorsey, Robert Christie, Sen., Robert Christie, Jun., Peter Campbell. For a declaration of Virginia charging undue influence of land speculators in Maryland, see Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 10: 558. In spite of reasons for suspicion of Maryland's motives, it must be said that a very careful search through published works and the archives of the Maryland Historical Society and of the Library of Congress has failed to establish a direct connection between selfish motives and public acts. In the present state of research, the historian, like contemporary Virginians, is compelled to trust to inference.

proviso that no state should be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

With the passage of the articles of confederation by congress, the fight became more sharply defined; and Maryland made a formal declaration on December 15, 1778, refusing categorically to enter the confederation unless "an article or articles be added thereto, giving full power to the United States in congress assembled — to ascertain and fix the western limits of the states claiming to extend to the Mississippi, or South Sea, and expressly reserving or securing to the United States a right in common in and to all the lands lying to the westward of the frontiers as aforesaid, not granted to, surveyed for, or purchased by individuals at the commencement of the present war, in such manner that the said lands be sold out, or otherwise disposed of for the common benefit of all the states."[7]

In the instructions of the same date to its delegates the Maryland legislature pointed out that Virginia would enjoy an economic advantage over the other states, were it allowed to obtain "vast sums of money" from the sales of western lands. "Lands comparatively cheap and taxes comparatively low with the lands and taxes of an adjacent state, would quickly drain the state thus disadvantageously circumstanced of its most useful inhabitants."[8]

It will be noticed that Maryland demanded protection for the rights of those people who had made private purchases from the Indians. The protagonist in the fight for the confederacy's western dominion threw protecting arms around such private companies as the Illinois and Wabash Land Company.

Virginia answered the attack December 14, 1779, by pointing out that in the previous May the legislature of the state had forbidden settlements of any character whatever north of the river Ohio; further, the state protested against the consideration by the continental congress of the claims of land companies staked out in violation of this restriction. Attention was called

[7] Hening, *Statutes at Large,* 10: 551; for a discussion of the whole controversy, see Adams, "Maryland's Influence Upon Land Cessions to the United States," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies,* 3: 1 ff., and Turner, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," in *American Historical Review,* 1: 70 ff.

[8] Hening, *Statutes at Large,* 10: 554.

to the notorious fact that the claims of the Vandalia and Indiana Companies were contrary to Virginia's rights under the confederation and that in the Illinois and Wabash Land Company, the influence of which was surmised, there were concerned "several men of great influence in some of the neighbouring states," referring, of course, to Maryland.[9]

This public slur on the motives of Maryland voiced the general opinion in Virginia. Colonel George Mason never concealed his belief on the subject; it was his opinion that Maryland's declaration had been written by Governor Johnson himself.[10] Virginia's declaration charged the supporters of the confederacy's rights with duplicity, for "had those propositions been adopted, the public would have been duped by the arts of individuals, and great part of the value of unappropriated lands converted to private purposes."[11]

Congress was placed in an embarrassing dilemma by the stubborn attitude of the two leaders in the controversy. Forceful seizure seemed inadvisable if not impossible; so on September 6, 1780, it was determined: "That it appears more advisable to press upon those states which can remove the embarrassment respecting the western country, a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, since they cannot be preserved entire without endangering the stability of the general confederacy."[12] Eventual solution of the difficulty accorded with this decision, although a more drastic action continued to be discussed and recommended by many.

The first state to give up its claim to western lands was New York, but its rights in the hinterland were of such a very shadowy character that the surrender in no way satisfied the desires of the Maryland legislature.

Virginia recognized the political strength of the opposing combination and read rightly the growing cry of public disapproval of any attempt to maintain the widest claims; in fact the leaders of opinion in the Old Dominion were already in favor of making the requested cession, provided the territory

[9] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 10: 557.
[10] Rowland, *Life of George Mason*, 1: 321, 336; Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 10: 558.
[11] *Ibid.*, 558.
[12] *Ibid.*, 562.

should be protected from the land companies. The invitation of congress, therefore, was received kindly in the state capital.[13]

After a searching debate the resolution concerning the cession was passed on January 2, 1781; but eight conditions were added:[14] that the territory should be formed into states with territory from a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles square; that Virginia should be reimbursed for the expenses that it had incurred within the territory; that the French and Canadian settlers should be protected in their persons and property; that the promises of land made to George Rogers Clark and his men should be fulfilled; that in case the land southeast of the Ohio reserved for the Virginia troops should be insufficient, the necessary supplement to this should be found on the northwestern side of the river; that the Old Northwest Territory thus ceded should be considered a common fund for the United States; that the territory remaining in Virginia should be guaranteed; and lastly and very important in the eyes of Virginia statesmen, that all purchases made by private persons from the Indians should be declared void.

Maryland no longer had reason to withhold the commonwealth's signature to the articles of confederation unless it determined to continue the fight in behalf of the land companies. This evidently appeared unwise; so on February 2, 1781, the legislature of Maryland authorized its delegates to sign the articles.[15]

Up to this time the Illinois and Wabash Land Company had preferred to work through Maryland rather than to bring its claim to a direct issue in congress. Possibly other considerations affected its political moves. It was not completely reorganized until the spring of 1780. Meetings had been held at various times during 1779, a committee had been appointed to draw up a constitution, and plans were laid to push the settlement of the proposed village at the mouth of the Wabash. In

[13] *Writings of George Washington* (ed. Ford), 9:133; letter dated March 15, 1784, in *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), 3:420; letter to Washington, September 26, 1780, *ibid.*, 2:345; Rowland, *Life of George Mason*, 1:361.

[14] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 10:564.

[15] Connecticut had offered to cede its claims with conditions on October 10, 1780.

the meeting of August 20, the company was declared to have eighty-four shares, and there were good prospects of selling a number of them not only in America but in France.

In the meeting of April 29, 1780, the articles of union between the two land companies were finally ratified, and an extensive plan was agreed upon for pushing the settlement not only at the mouth of the Wabash but also at the mouths of the Ohio and the Illinois rivers. Provision having been made for the appointment of general officers, who were to receive grants of twenty thousand acres, Generals Steuben, St. Clair, and Parsons, and Benjamin Thompson were selected for these distinguished positions; but after considerable discussion it was determined to postpone all attempts to establish settlements until after the conclusion of peace.[16]

The fight in congress was waged with vigor. The company's first petition was dated February 3, 1781, the day after Maryland agreed to sign the articles of confederation; on March 12 it was read and referred to the committee considering the cessions from Virginia, New York, and Connecticut. The report of this committee, made on June 24, 1781,[17] threw the whole question of dominion in the west back to its original status, for it declared that it was inexpedient for congress to accept any of the states' cessions as they then stood. The report proposed that congress determine the western limits beyond which it would not extend its guarantee to the particular states and recommended that, when these had been determined, a committee be appointed to prepare a plan for dividing and settling the said territory and for disposing of it in such manner as to discharge the debt of the United States.

This report was referred on October 2, 1781, to a new committee, composed of men from states with definite western boundaries. The committee summoned the delegates from Virginia to defend the position of their commonwealth, which the Virginia delegates refused to do, denying the jurisdiction of congress in an affair between a commonwealth and private

[16] The whole account is based on *Illinois-Wabash Land Company Manuscript* (ed. Alvord); Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 2:75 ff.

[17] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Library of Congress), 19:253. The memorial of the company has not been found. See also *ibid.*, 20:704; Papers of the Continental Congress, 30:561.

citizens.[18] The committee then recommended that the cession of New York be accepted and that of Virginia rejected — on the grounds that the lands claimed by Virginia belonged to other states of the confederacy and that the western boundary line of Virginia had been established by the king of Great Britain previous to the Revolution. The committee reported on each of the land companies that had petitioned congress, making some favorable recommendations, but denying the claims of the Illinois and Wabash Land Company, since its purchases had been irregularly made.[19]

No action was ever taken on this report, but, on the motion of Maryland, congress voted on October 29, 1782, to accept the cession made by New York. Finally the proposed cession by Virginia, after repeated attempts on the part of the delegates from that state, was referred again to a committee, more equitably composed than the former one had been. Their report favoring acceptance was discussed on June 20, 1783, and was again referred to a committee which reported on September 13, advising that the cession of Virginia be accepted provided certain conditions were modified; in particular it considered that the clause annulling the Indian purchases, which, it was pointed out, was covered by some of the other conditions, should not be insisted upon. The report having been accepted by congress, the desired modifications were made by the legislature of Virginia in 1783; and the cession was completed on March 1, 1784.[20]

The example of Virginia was followed shortly afterwards by Massachusetts; and in 1786 the cession of Connecticut was completed, thus clearing the whole Northwest Territory from states' claims except for a small reservation made by Connecticut along the international boundary.[21]

[18] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Library of Congress), 21:1032; Henry, *Patrick Henry*, 2:89.

[19] The date of this report is November 3, 1781; *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Library of Congress), 21:1098; Papers of the Continental Congress, 31:371-373.

[20] Jefferson to Harrison, March 3, 1784, in *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), 3:411.

[21] The Illinois and Wabash Land Company did not give up its struggle for its title for many years after this. On May 2, 1788, it introduced into the continental congress a memorial, upon which a report was made. Papers of the Continental Congress, number 41x, 701 ff. In 1791 another memorial was handed to

Before the Virginia cession had been completed the continental congress, in response to several petitions from possible settlers, had taken under consideration the question of a government for the territory which was being acquired. A committee made a report on the day of the Virginia cession. It was evidently the work of its chairman, Thomas Jefferson, who believed, as had the radical expansionists of the British ministry before him, in the immediate opening of the whole region to settlement and in permitting the pioneers to swarm over the land in search of homes after the purchase of the Indian claims had been completed.

Jefferson's plan provided for the organization of territory not only in the Old Northwest but also in the Old Southwest, the whole territory to be divided into sixteen states, rectangular so far as possible.[22] The names chosen for these states show the influence of the classical learning so evident in all Jefferson's writings, some of the names being purely classical in their origin, others attempting to unite classical endings with Indian bases; for instance, the three states designed to cover the territory of the present state of Illinois and western Indiana were to be called Assenisipia, Illinoia, and Polypotamia.

After some discussion the plan was referred to the same committee for reconsideration. The revised plan proposed the immediate formation of seven states in the Old Northwest, bounded by parallels of latitude and meridian lines, but left the extreme northwest undivided.[23] The government was to be organized by the settlers themselves under the authority of congress, and this territorial government might adopt with alterations such laws of other states as suited its purpose.

congress. The house of representatives advised favorable action, but the senate was opposed to it. *Account of the Proceedings of the Illinois and Ouabache Land Company,* printed in Philadelphia, 1796. In 1797 there was another memorial, with unfavorable action; in 1804 the petition was referred to the land commissioners. The commission reported unfavorably. *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 2: 108. The whole matter was finally rejected on January 30, 1811. *Ibid.,* 253.

[22] See Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787,* p. 17 ff.; *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (ed. Ford), 3: 407.

[23] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), 9: 109. A map showing the boundaries as outlined in this law may be found in Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787,* opposite p. 24.

When the population had reached twenty thousand, the territory could establish a permanent government upon specified republican principles; when the population equaled that of the smallest of the original states, it might apply to congress to be admitted into the union. This act was passed on April 23, 1784.[24]

Although legally passed, the law remained inoperative. The Indians were still in possession of the land, and there were no settlers to organize the government except those in the villages in the Illinois, to whom such wide powers could scarcely be granted.

During the consideration of plans for a territorial government the need for some general policy concerning the sale of the land became apparent. Accordingly, on May 20, 1785, a land ordinance was passed. The discussion brought to an issue the two methods of land sales that had been developed during the period of the colonies. In the southern colonies, particularly in Virginia, the method of acquiring new property in land was very simple; warrants were taken out by the home seeker, who sought out his own land, frequently staking it out himself in what was known as a tomahawk claim, but afterwards seeing to it that it was properly surveyed by some deputy surveyor. The system had the advantage of permitting the utmost freedom of initiative on the part of the settler; but it resulted in many conflicting land claims, and, what was still worse, left uncultivated many strips with poorer soil, which were later seized by neighboring land owners without due process of law. In later years the state of Kentucky suffered extremely from the chaotic conditions resulting from this procedure.

A much more orderly system had been followed in the northern colonies, particularly in New England, where townships were laid out by surveyors, and lots within the township were surveyed at the cost of either the colonies or the town's promoters. This method of prior survey prevented many conflicts in land titles, established compact settlements which were

[24] In Jefferson's original recommendation there was a clause prohibiting all involuntary slavery after the year 1800, but this was stricken out by a very close vote during the consideration of the second report.

a protection against the Indians, and developed township solidarity. The objection to it lay in its immobility, "township planting" granting no freedom of choice to the individual.

Of these two systems the more orderly one was adopted by the continental congress for the basis of its new regulations. Under the law ranges were laid out in townships six miles square formed by lines running due north and south and crossed by lines running east and west. This area was cut again by cross lines a mile apart into thirty-six smaller sections of six hundred and forty acres each. A minimum price of one dollar an acre was fixed, the expense of surveying to be borne by the purchaser.[25] The southern system imparted to the law an element of freedom. Township planting was not compulsory. The home seeker could choose his section anywhere in the surveyed ranges.

The speculators were, on the whole, opposed to any such orderly disposal of the western lands. They pointed out that it would be far better for the United States to dispose of large stretches of territory which could be subdivided by the purchaser into townships or lots and sold directly to the home seeker. The United States would thus avoid being involved in the intricacies of small business; and, it was urged, the land speculators would be able to satisfy the needs of the pioneers far better than any land office could. At the time of the passage of the land ordinance of 1785 the speculators were not given much consideration, but an opportunity to buy on a somewhat large scale was offered by the reservation of every alternate township for purchase by some individual or association.

This attempt to organize the west had been due largely to the efforts of Thomas Jefferson, the archpriest of democracy and the Solon of all home seekers; but his influence had been cut off by his departure in 1784 for Paris, where he remained for

[25] The law may be found in *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), 10: 118. A good discussion of the land policy of the United States is to be found in Treat, *The National Land System, 1785-1820,* p. 36 ff. It should be noted that Washington's influence was thrown on the side of the orderly development of settlements in the west. Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution,* 1: 425, 430.

several years. As leader in the matter of organizing the territory north of the Ohio river he was succeeded by James Monroe, who in 1785 made a journey into the region to familiarize himself with the situation. The Indian troubles, however, prevented him from making an extended tour. He was not very favorably impressed. "A great part of the territory," he wrote, "is miserably poor, especially that near lakes Michigan & Erie & that upon the Mississippi & the Illinois consists of extensive plains w^h^ have not had from appearances & will not have a single bush on them, for ages. The districts, therefore within w^h^ these fall will perhaps never contain a sufficient number of Inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."[26] His observations persuaded him that the limitation of states to an area of one hundred and fifty miles square, which was provided in the cession of Virginia, was unwise; and he therefore recommended that Virginia be urged to revise the act of cession so that not more than five nor less than three states should be formed out of the territory of the Old Northwest.

Under the leadership of Monroe and his successors, definite steps were taken toward the development of a law embodying a new territorial policy to replace the law of 1784; but the various changes through which the bill passed need not be explained here.

In the end, Monroe's opinion concerning the necessity of cutting down the number of states to be carved out of the Old Northwest prevailed, and it was determined after some hesitancy to erect at least three and not more than five states.[27] By a succession of reports and resolutions beginning with a report on May 10, 1786, and closing with one on April 26, 1787, the whole machinery of the territorial government that was finally to be used by the United States in their advance westward was worked out.[28] A complete political organiza-

[26] Quoted in Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution,* 1:48; Monroe to Jefferson, January 1, 19, 1786, in *Writings of James Monroe* (ed. Hamilton), 1:117; Doherty, "James Monroe and the Political Organization of the Northwest," manuscript in the library of the University of Illinois.

[27] Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution,* 2:102; *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), 11:97.

[28] These details are best followed in the account in Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787,* but may be found in many other monographs on the subject.

tion for the Northwest was provided, with a governor, a secretary, and three judges, the governor and judges constituting a quasi-legislative body with power to adopt for the territory criminal and civil laws from those of the original states. When the territory should contain five thousand free adult male inhabitants, a house of representatives was to be elected by the people, and a legislative council of five was to be appointed by congress. Provision was made for the entrance of a territory into the union when a certain population was attained — in the ordinance as passed the number was fixed at 60,000. Besides this machinery of government, there had been certain important accretions to the bill as it rolled through the council chamber of the committees; there were a number of provisions regulating the administration of justice, such as the provision securing the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury.

While this important bill was being evolved, congress received from the various factions of the Illinois French those petitions which were described in the previous chapter.[29] Necessity of action appeared urgent; and, after sending word to the impatient petitioners that care would be taken to provide for their necessities, the whole subject was referred to a committee. On May 7, 1787, this committee tendered a report, not differing particularly in detail from one previously made; it recommended that a commissioner to the Illinois country be appointed by congress to organize a temporary government for the villages.[30]

The two reports now before congress were closely connected, but it was evident that if the advice of the committee on the government of the whole territory should be passed, it could be left to the governor and judges to bring about some organization of affairs in the far west. This important report was read the second time on May 9, but no further action was taken until after a recess of congress extending into the first days of July. When that body was prepared to take up again the territorial question, it was found that the whole situation was changed by the opportunity of making a large

[29] See above, p. 363.
[30] The report is printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 399.

land sale to some men of New England who had determined to plant a settlement north of the Ohio river.[31]

The land companies which gave to Maryland such valiant support in the fight over the dominion of the west were almost exclusively composed of men from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the southern states, and from these came the principal support for measures looking to the rapid development of the territory back of the mountains. Where western land speculation was rife, western issues were vital.

Throughout the diplomatic struggle for the inclusion of the ultramontane region within the territory of the United States and the subsequent discussion of methods of developing it, the apathy of the northern states had been most conspicuous and had often shown itself in a policy of obstruction. Although this attitude is largely explained by the absence of an active financial interest in trans-Allegheny matters, it is also to be remembered that the New England states feared the consequences upon themselves of opening up fertile and cheap lands for settlement, particularly because they thought, judging from past experience, that the new states would be colonized by southerners, thus adding to southern power and influence in the union.

The apathy of the northern states toward all western issues quickly disappeared when the Ohio Company entered into competition for the territory of the Old Northwest; and an eagerness to forward all western interests became apparent in the continental congress when there grew out of the movement a rare combination of New England settlers and New York land speculators, for the most part new men in western land enterprises. The momentum of this alliance was from the first irresistible. Its members, men of political influence, were able to open up again the whole issue of the development of the west by big business as against the settlement by numerous home seekers. To the revival of this issue, supposedly laid to

[31] For other concrete proposals to raise a revenue by large sales of land see Silas Deane's plan of 1776 for a colony in Illinois, in "Correspondence of Silas Deane, 1774-1776," in Connecticut Historical Society, *Collections*, 2: 131 ff.; *Deane Papers* (ed. Isham), 1: 382 ff. For a plan fathered by Theodore Bland and Alexander Hamilton, see Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, 1: 308, 312 ff. A general discussion will be found in Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*, p. 9 ff.

rest at the time of the Virginia cession and the land ordinance of 1785, little opposition was made. The moribund continental congress appears to have been a mere plaything in the hands of the financial leaders of America.

The origin of the Ohio Company dates back to 1783, when a number of continental officers petitioned congress to set off a state in the Old Northwest wherein they might secure the land promised to soldiers serving to the end of the war by the resolution of September 16, 1776, and other subsequent resolutions.[32] Because of the indefinite status of affairs congress was unable to do anything at the time, and no further action was taken until 1786.

The leaders of 1783 continued their interest in the west and were successful in holding together a group of men, mostly New Englanders, through the society of officers known as Cincinnati and also through their association with the American Union Lodge of Free Masons.[33] The leading spirits of the movement were General Rufus Putnam, General Benjamin Tupper, General Samuel H. Parsons, Winthrop Sargent, and the Reverend Manasseh Cutler. On March 1, 1786, a meeting of representatives was held in Boston, and the Ohio Company was formed for the purpose of purchasing by means of a fund of continental certificates, amounting to one million dollars, a tract of country upon the Ohio.

General Parsons, a former associate of Silas Deane in a western land speculation, took the petition to New York and presented it to the continental congress on May 9, 1787, just at the moment when the report on the Northwest Territory was being considered. Incompetent to push matters through, he was replaced by Dr. Cutler on July 5, when congress had convened after a short recess.[34]

Cutler's offer to buy a large tract of land to be immediately occupied by northerners magically silenced all northern opposition to the proposed plan of organization for the northwest; and within a few days the ordinance was completed by the addition of a bill of rights and several important provi-

[32] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Library of Congress), 5:763.
[33] For a discussion of this see Hulbert, *Records of the Ohio Company*, introduction.
[34] Cutler, *Life of Reverend Manasseh Cutler*, 1, *passim*.

sions, such as the right to a representative in congress when the territory passed to the second stage of development. The most important clause thus added was that numbered six, prohibiting slavery within the territory — a clause destined to cause much trouble in the Illinois country for many years. To the French inhabitants of the Illinois were reserved "their laws and customs now in force among them relative to the descent and conveyance of property."

The ordinance having been passed on July 13, 1787, the sale of the land was next considered; and here big business showed its hand. The first proposition made on July 19 by the continental congress was not acceptable to the Ohio Company, and it is probable that shrewd business men who had their own purposes in mind threw difficulties in the way of the negotiations. At least subsequent developments indicate some hidden forces at work. Dr. Cutler was immediately taken into consultation by some leading speculators of the city — "some of the first people," he calls them — to whom he had letters of introduction. Undoubtedly their influence had helped to press the ordinance through congress with such rapidity.

The leader of this band of speculators was Colonel William Duer, a man of great business shrewdness, who had made his wealth through contracts for the Revolutionary army and by speculation in government securities. He was connected with most of the financial magnates of the United States and with many in Europe. On the very day that Cutler was consulting with the committee of the continental congress over the terms of the purchase, Colonel Duer came to him and offered his assistance in securing favorable terms for the Ohio Company. The terms were arranged at an "oyster dinner" that evening. The host's price was a large one: another company, whose existence was to be kept a profound secret, was to be formed, and it was to purchase through Cutler and associates about five million acres of land over and above the million and one-half required by the Ohio Company.[35]

Since Colonel Duer was secretary of the confederacy's

[35] Hulbert, *Records of the Ohio Company*, LXXVI. The smaller tract contained, when surveyed, 1,781,760 acres; the larger grant included 4,901,480 acres.

board of treasury, which had authority to make sales of land, the matter in dispute between Cutler and congress was quickly adjusted, particularly after Cutler agreed that the president of the continental congress, General Arthur St. Clair, should be the first governor of the Northwest Territory.

The large speculators in land had been defeated earlier by Virginia's persistence in demanding the annulment of all earlier and doubtful titles to land in the Old Northwest, and again they had been defeated, largely through the efforts of Thomas Jefferson, by the passage of the land ordinance of 1785, which limited the sale of land to relatively small sections. But now at last by the skillful use of the popularity of the Ohio Company, they had driven an entering wedge for their exploitation of the western territory.

The Scioto Company, as Colonel Duer's company was called, was but the beginning of a struggle of big business to secure favorable terms from congress. On October 23, 1787, a resolution was passed authorizing the board of treasury to enter into contracts "in behalf of the United States, with any person or persons for any quantity of land in the western territory, the Indian rights whereon have been extinguished, not less than one million of acres in one body, upon the same terms, as it respects price, payment and surveying, with those directed in the contract with M. Cutler and W. Sargent."[36]

The first of the speculators to follow the example set them by Colonel Duer and his friends was John Cleves Symmes of New Jersey, who petitioned and obtained a tract of land lying between the Great and Little Miami rivers. Two large land speculations which were proposed might have directly affected the Illinois country, had they come to fruition. The first petition was filed by Royal Flint and Joseph Parker on October 18, 1787. Parker was the man who, when traveling in the Illinois in the summer of 1786, had encouraged the Kaskaskia French to drive out John Dodge; and his partner was an intimate friend and business associate of Colonel William Duer. They petitioned for two tracts of land, one of two million acres extending along the Ohio river from its

[36] October 23, 1787, *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), 12:142.

mouth to the Wabash, and another of one million acres on the east bank of the Mississippi near its junction with the Illinois river. If granted four complete townships, they offered to make the necessary advance of money for the purchase of the Indian rights; but congress felt that this duty should be carried out by the United States. Although favorable action was taken upon this petition, the sale was never consummated.[37]

The second petition came from the New Jersey Land Society, organized by George Morgan. This document, dated May 1, 1788, asked for two million acres situated on the Mississippi south of the Flint and Parker tract and including the French villages on the American Bottom; in it provision was made for the French rights. The terms offered by congress in reply, however, were not acceptable to the New Jersey Land Company, and discovering an opportunity to obtain from the Spanish government a grant of land under supposedly better conditions, George Morgan turned his attention to the region that is now New Madrid in Missouri.[38]

Stimulated by the activity of these land speculators, Tardiveau, who had entered into contracts with the Illinois French and American squatters,[39] petitioned congress again and again for compensation in land for his clients. In all his communications he was careful not to mention names or particular events of the last few years, for his constituents were drawn from all the factions and he wished to obtain lands for all. He depicted the French as living in Arcadian simplicity, guided only by the dictates of conscience, innocently bowing to the hardships thrust upon them, and retaining through all their troubles an unbounded faith in the goodness of congress and a faithfulness to the American cause. The Americans he described as making settlements with all faith in the power of the courts to grant land, and as being greatly surprised at the illegality of the titles thus obtained.[40]

[37] *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), 12:107, 151; 13:113, and Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*, 489.

[38] *Ibid.*, 469, 479, 483, 485, 490; *Journals of the Continental Congress* (ed. Folwell), 13:90; *Virginia State Papers*, 4:554.

[39] See above, p. 371.

[40] These petitions are printed in Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records*.

His tactics were partially successful; interest was aroused in the French; and as a result, the continental congress accepted a report of its committee "confirming in their possessions and titles, the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers on these lands, who on or before the year 1783, had professed themselves citizens of the United States or any of them" and recommending that three tracts shall be laid off "adjoining the several villages, Kaskaskies, La Prairie du Rochers and Kahokia — of such extent as shall contain 400 acres for each of the families of the villages of Kaskaskies, La Prairie du Rochers, Kahokia, Fort Chartres, or St. Philips." The law contained no provision for the late comers of English speech; and even the French who were promised such generous bounties were not to enjoy the benefit because so many years were to elapse before the gifts were made available. The French villagers gave freely to the cause of independence and were rewarded with destitution.[41] These few Gallic families thrown upon the banks of the Mississippi river by the flood of eighteenth century French imperialism were hereafter to be mere castaways in the conquest of the west. It may be that Fate demanded from them, as it did from the Indians, a sacrifice for the greater good. Certainly in the scheme of the future there was shown to them little consideration.

Momentous events were now taking place. The roaring of the advancing tide of the Americans was already heard west of the Alleghenies, and with inexorable force the waves of individualism were to inundate the wilderness. For the use of the pioneers of a new west, there had been evolved an organism of territorial government that was adjusted to the needs of a people loving personal independence and spurning external control. The imperialism of the Ordinance of 1787 was an imperialism of individual liberty and of local self determination. Whatever were the forces that called it into being, this new instrument of western expansion was framed by men of democratic ideals and was the palladium of freedom carried by Americans in their rush across the valley of the Mississippi.

[41] A full account of this law may be found in Mason, "Lists of Early Illinois Citizens," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, 4: 192 ff. See also *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2: 124.

XIX. THE ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICANS

THE dreams of Talon and Jolliet, of Morgan and Murray were nearing realization. The prairies of the Illinois country were soon to be cultivated by white men. In accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio was proclaimed by Governor Arthur St. Clair in 1788. The first settlement of the new government at Marietta was a presage of the dominion of men of English speech throughout the Old Northwest. Before the occupation of the prairies over two decades were to elapse; but although for the west as a whole these years teemed with significant events, for the territory which was to become the state of Illinois the period was one of relative quiescence. The French civilization, never very flourishing, had been ruined during the Revolutionary years and those that followed. Without leaders, without the fresh impetus of new blood, nothing could be expected from the slumbering villages along the Mississippi. No longer did international complications make their fate a matter of stupendous interest. They could but wait for the tide of American pioneers to rush over them, covering their shallow places with its flood.

Meanwhile several troublesome problems confronting the new government of the Old Northwest must be solved. The Indian nations, anxious to prevent encroachments of the white people upon their hunting grounds, must be quieted; the British government, which still refused to withdraw its troops from the lake posts at Buffalo, Detroit, and Mackinac, must be driven to action either by force or by persuasion; the Spanish government must be compelled to open the Mississippi; and the unruly frontier people who were crossing the mountains must be taught obedience to the new order.

The Indian problem as ever was the most difficult one. The natives were firm in demanding that the boundary line fixed by the treaty made in 1768 at Fort Stanwix be observed by the

white men, who, they claimed, were unjustly establishing communities north of the river Ohio. Before St. Clair arrived at Marietta, two treaties with the Indians had been negotiated in the hope of securing titles to land in what is now the southern part of the state of Ohio; following his arrival these were confirmed in the treaty of Fort Harmar. Yet many Indians, especially those on the upper Wabash river, where the influence of the British fur traders was paramount, remained hostile and refused to agree to any terms.

An Indian war was inevitable. War bands of the natives were scouring the northwest from the upper Muskingum to the French villages on the Mississippi. Under the circumstances President Washington realized that the only hope of peace lay in a complete victory of an American army and accordingly Governor St. Clair was urged to strike the blow; but his campaign, undertaken in the fall of 1791, was a complete failure. On a branch of the Wabash his army was surprised by the Indians and received one of the most crushing defeats ever experienced by white troops at the hands of Indians.

The command of the army was now given to General Anthony Wayne, whose preliminary act was to make a treaty with the Potawatomi in northern Illinois, thus cutting off the west from the disaffected region. The situation had become extremely delicate, for the British commandant at Detroit had built a fort on the upper Maumee river, and there installed a garrison. This was an invasion of United States territory and might easily lead to war, for which Canadian officers were eager. After putting his raw troops through a vigorous training, Wayne met the Indians on August 18, 1794, in the battle of Fallen Timbers, practically under the walls of the small British fort; but the British, to the dismay of the Indians, offered no help; and, when the natives were scattered by the forces of Wayne, they were not permitted to take refuge under the foreign flag.

General Wayne proved himself as skillful a negotiator of peace as he had been a leader to victory. The treaty of Greenville on August 4, 1795, settled for many years the Indian troubles of the Old Northwest. A new Indian boundary line was fixed, opening up the southern and eastern parts of the

present state of Ohio for immediate settlement and giving to the United States various small reservations for forts. Three of these were situated within the boundaries of the present state of Illinois — one at Chicago, including the land lying along the portage of the Des Plaines river, another at Peoria, and the third at the mouth of the Illinois river.[1]

The military success over the Indians with its consequent fifteen years of peace is characteristic of the course that settlement of the whites in the Old Northwest was to follow. In this region the United States government was able to inaugurate the system previously contemplated by the British ministry. By successive treaties with the federal government the Indian tribes ceded their titles to land until they were gradually driven from the whole territory. Meanwhile the license of the pioneers was somewhat restrained by the show of national force and by the hope of soon entering into their paradise of land engrossment.

The situation in the northwest was made much more complex by the occupation of the lake posts by the British. Among the Canadian fur traders there had been an outcry against the international boundary established by the treaty of 1783. They pointed out that the chief industry of the lakes region was the fur trade, which for years had been controlled by the northern merchants, and that withdrawal without financial loss could be accomplished only after several years. It was not difficult for British politicians to find excuses for maintaining their hold over the region; and they had in fact, during the period intervening between the signing of the preliminary and the proclaiming of the definitive treaty, determined upon such a policy. The later accusations against the United States concerning the nonpayment of debts to British merchants and the terms meted out to the tories were merely excuses.[2]

The British merchants, instead of preparing to withdraw their agents and merchandise from the Old Northwest, used the interim to extend their trade. They pushed across the Mississippi river — Prairie du Chien being the rendezvous of

[1] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 2:40. For an account of the war and treaty see Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 125.

[2] Stevens, "British Monopoly of the Northwest Fur Trade," manuscript in the library of the University of Illinois. See debate in House of Lords, *Parliamentary History*, 23:377 ff.

traders and Indians — and displayed their goods in the Spanish territory on the upper Missouri.[3] Under the skillful management of the enterprising merchants of Montreal, the fur industry of Canada became a powerful institution. By the end of the century, after experimenting with several temporary organizations, large fur companies had secured a practical monopoly of the trade of the Great Lakes, of all northern Canada, and of the region of the upper Missouri and were extending their activities as far even as the Pacific coast. Until the opening of the new century, however, the Illinois country was exploited by private traders, who were accustomed to cross the Chicago-Des Plaines portage in the fall and pursue their calling along the banks of the Illinois during the winter. A British commandant at Mackinac in 1793 wrote: "Traders descend with facility to the American Settlements at the Illinois who are all affected to the British Government. The Trade to that Country is much in our favor, as they consume a great quantity of British Manufactures, particularly Cottons, and not having a sufficiency of Peltries to give in return, the balance is paid in Cash which they receive from their neighbors the Spaniards." He stated, furthermore, that a chain of British traders extended from the Illinois up the Mississippi.[4]

The representatives of the United States always asserted that British officials in the west were responsible for the Indian unrest and attacks upon the American settlements. There can be no question that the British officials continued, as they had done in the past, to make to the Indians presents of powder, guns, and other merchandise and to encourage them to exchange their furs for British goods. But a careful study of the secret correspondence between Canadian officials and the ministry of Great Britain proves that, except for an occasional

[3] Smith, *St. Clair Papers,* 2:175. The legislature of Quebec, to which had been assigned oversight of the fur trade, removed most of the former imperial impediments to its development. By a law of 1791, traders were no longer required to secure licenses even for the sale of liquor.

[4] Antoine Deschamps was engaged in trips to the Illinois for years. Hubbard, *Autobiography* (ed. McIlvaine), 23. The quotation is in a letter from Doyle to Simcoe, July 28, 1793, Public Archives of Canada, series 2, 280, part 2; Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 373. The Mackinac Company, frequently mentioned by historians as operating at this time, was not formed until 1806. Agreement between Michillimackinac and Northwest Companies, Baby manuscripts, Seminary of St. Sulpice, Montreal.

indiscreet remark, the representatives of the empire kept within the limits of international practice in their dealings with the Indian tribes dwelling within United States territory. Even the British traders followed no conscious policy of inciting the Indians to warfare, which always disturbed business.

So long as British garrisons remained at Buffalo, Detroit, and Mackinac, the rights of the United States in the west were obviously not secure; and the government under President Washington realized that the first diplomatic object to be attained was the withdrawal of the foreign troops. At the time when the treaty of 1783 was made, both the American and the British commissioners had agreed to leave several issues to be settled in a future commercial treaty between the two states. This was not brought about until 1794, when President Washington sent John Jay to London as American representative to bring to completion the long-drawn-out negotiations. The international situation due to the French Revolution had made the task of the American commissioner less difficult; and on November 19, 1794, he secured the object of his mission, a treaty of commerce which, however, was not made public until its acceptance by the senate on June 29 of the next year.

After the lake posts were delivered to the United States in the summer of 1796, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, the British transferred the center of their fur trade to Malden at the mouth of the Detroit river and to St. Joseph Island in the channel connecting Lakes Huron and Superior. There they continued their operations much as they had before; it was to be many years before Americans were to drive the British merchants from the Indian trade south of the Great Lakes.

The people of the west found that their interests conflicted with those of another foreign nation. Spanish Louisiana occupied the whole western bank of the Mississippi and stretched out over the prairies to the Rocky mountains. Since Louisiana possessed the city of New Orleans on the eastern bank, it was possible for the Spaniards to close to the westerners the natural opening for the trade of the valley, the mouth of the Mississippi river. The United States experienced the same disadvantage from the control of the river mouth by an alien people as

had Great Britain in former years; and to the settlers of the region the situation appeared to be contrary to the laws of nature, particularly since the Spaniards put every possible obstacle in the way of free trade. It is unnecessary to pass in review all phases of the ensuing struggle. Besides closing the Mississippi river at times, the Spanish officials stirred up the Indians along its banks to make war upon the American settlements and intrigued with the American settlers in the hope of persuading them to cast off their allegiance to the United States. Many westerners of prominence listened to the honeyed words of Governor Miro and were persuaded that the destinies of the west could best be guided under the flag of Spain.

The situation in the Old Southwest was in many ways, therefore, much more desperate, much more critical, than that which was brought about by British activities among the Indians north of the Ohio river; and yet there were many eastern politicians who were incapable of realizing the paramount importance of keeping open the navigation of the Mississippi river.[5] The United States was finally saved from the embarrassing situation by the turn in international affairs brought about by the French Revolution. Intrigues of a representative of the French republic with the westerners frightened the Spanish officials, and the government of Spain was finally brought to agree to American demands. The treaty that was ratified in 1795 gave to the United States the right to navigate the Mississippi river and also secured a port of deposit at New Orleans. Still the control of the mouth of the river by Spain remained an open sore, which was not healed until the United States purchased Louisiana in 1803.

Before the treaties with Great Britain, Spain, and the Indians had settled the more important issues concerning the Old Northwest, Governor St. Clair had found time to visit the Illinois settlement, though not until he had been distinctly instructed to do so by both congress and the president.[6] He

[5] John Jay in 1786 actually entered into negotiations with Spain and was ready to consent to the closing of the Mississippi to American trade for twenty-five years; but the west was aroused at the very suggestion of such a measure and it was quickly dropped.

[6] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:164.

arrived in Kaskaskia on March 5, 1790, and during the next month paid a visit to Cahokia; on April 27, he proclaimed the boundaries of the county of St. Clair, the mother of many future counties. According to the proclamation its territory extended from the Illinois river to the Ohio and from the Mississippi on the west to a straight line drawn from the mouth of the Mackinaw river to the mouth of the creek above Fort Massiac.[7] In June of the same year Knox county, with its seat at Vincennes, was laid out, embracing part of Indiana and that section of the future Illinois which lay east of the line of St. Clair county.

The extensive territory of St. Clair county was divided by the governor into three judicial districts centering at Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and Kaskaskia, "in each of which, sessions of the county court should be held during the year, as if each district represented a distinct county."[8] The courts established in each district of the county of St. Clair were those of common pleas, general quarter sessions, the justices of the peace, and the probate court, for conducting which the governor experienced difficulty in finding capable men. The court of common pleas met four times a year and exercised jurisdiction in all civil suits with the right of appeal to the territorial court.[9] The court of quarter sessions exercised criminal jurisdiction in cases involving life, long imprisonment, or forfeiture of property, and had general administrative authority over its district.[10]

The inauguration of the courts by Governor St. Clair did not immediately solve the difficult problems of civil government. On June 2, 1793, the prothonotary, William St. Clair, wrote of the county: "It would appear we have no organized government whatever. Our courts are in a deplorable state;

[7] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:165.

[8] *Ibid.*, 165, 198. The governor was admonished by the president for exceeding his powers in thus dividing the country.

[9] The judges appointed were Jean Baptiste Barbau, Antoine Girardin, John Edgar, Philippe Engel, and Jean Dumoulin. William St. Clair was appointed prothonotary and clerk of the court. He was the younger son of the Earl of Roslin and a cousin to Governor St. Clair; he had resided at Detroit for some time, and had settled in Illinois in 1790.

[10] The members were John Edgar, Philippe Engel, Antoine Girardin, and Antoine Louviere. The probate judge selected was Barthélemi Tardiveau. The first St. Clair county court was held in Cahokia in a private dwelling house, which was later bought on October 8, 1793, from François Saucier for $1,000. It is the old French "fort" that now stands in Jackson Park, Chicago.

no order is kept in the interior, and many times not held. Prairie du Rocher has had no court this sometime, and Kaskaskia has failed before. The magistrates, however, have taken upon themselves to set it going again. I think they will again fail. The prospect is gloomy."[11]

On the whole Cahokia, as in the previous years, proved that it was more capable of self-government than were the other villages. The records of the various courts held in this village show that they sat with considerable regularity and transacted business each year. The justices had general oversight of such matters as trade with the Indians, the upkeep of the roads, fences, and bridges, the care of the poor, and the collection of licenses from merchants and traders. They ordered the territorial laws translated into French; and in 1794, upon petition of the people of the village, they established for a month a school for the children.[12]

For several years the judges of the territory did not interfere with the local government of St. Clair county. Finally Governor St. Clair sent Judge George Turner on the western circuit. He arrived in Kaskaskia in October, 1794, and his first act was to order that the court records which had been kept by the prothonotary, William St. Clair, at Cahokia be removed to Kaskaskia, which, he claimed, was the county seat. When the prothonotary protested, the judge removed the records from his custody. St. Clair answered this by resigning. Furthermore, Judge Turner so enraged the people by his meddlesome interference in Indian affairs and his "unexampled tyranny and oppression" that they petitioned congress for redress. According to the petitioners the judge denied "us, as we conceive, the right reserved to us by the constitution of the Territory, to wit, the laws and customs hitherto used in regard to descent and conveyance of property, in which the French and Canadian inhabitants conceive the language an essential."[13] Rather than face an indictment by the grand jury, Judge Turner resigned.

[11] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:317.

[12] Allinson, "The Government of Illinois, 1790-1799," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, p. 286.

[13] *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, 1:151, 157; Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:372.

When Governor St. Clair learned of the actions of Judge Turner he rebuked him in no uncertain words and, in company with Judge John Cleves Symmes, immediately made the journey to the far west, where the two took measures to redress the grievances. It had become evident that the rivalry between Cahokia and Kaskaskia could not be abated; therefore on October 5, 1795, Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation establishing the county of Randolph, which included the southern part of the state.[14]

In the archives of the modern counties of St. Clair and Randolph are preserved scattered records of the various courts which show that from 1795 onward a more orderly government was maintained, but the records of the years previous to 1800 are extremely meager, and of the affairs of the people in what was still the far west few records have been preserved.[15]

Meanwhile the population of the territory of the Old Northwest was growing, and in 1798 it was ascertained that it contained over five thousand white male inhabitants and was therefore entitled to enter the second grade of territorial government. Governor St. Clair accordingly called upon the people to elect representatives to a general assembly to be held at Cincinnati. The lower house of the first legislature held north of the Ohio river consisted of twenty-three members, of whom sixteen came from the present state of Ohio, three from Michigan, two from Illinois, and one from Indiana. The election from the two counties of Illinois caused little excitement. In St. Clair county, out of a population which a year later numbered 1,255, there were cast 185 votes; and Shadrach Bond, the elder, was elected.[16] John Edgar was selected to represent Randolph county.

The people in the western part of the Northwest Territory were not at all satisfied with the government, since its center was so far removed from them and its judges made such infrequent visits to their villages. The maintenance of the territo-

[14] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:345.

[15] Anyone that is interested in the external history of the courts of this period will find that Miss Allinson in her "Government of Illinois, 1790-1799," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, p. 277 ff., has diligently collected all the evidence concerning them.

[16] *History of St. Clair County*, 70; Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory*, 288, 302.

rial government of the second stage was also expensive without bringing corresponding benefits to the villages. Moreover, the Illinois and Indiana people could calculate that the eastern part of the territory would in a short time be separated and made an independent territory and later, a state, and that the more western parts would then settle back into a territorial government of the first form. They saw no reason, therefore, why they should continue to pay the greater expenses, and in the early days of 1800 petitioned that they be separated from the east.

The committee of congress that took the question under advisement came to the conclusion that such a division should be made, since, they pointed out, "in the western countries [counties] there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes, in five years; and the immunity which offenders experience attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society."[17] In accordance with this report, congress passed an act which was approved May 7, 1800, forming the Indiana Territory from the region west of a line starting opposite the Kentucky river and running northward to the Canadian boundary. The governor selected for the new territory was William Henry Harrison, who arrived at Vincennes, the territorial capital, on January 10, 1801.

The new territory contained a population numbering less than six thousand. The largest center was in what is now Indiana, where were gathered 929 in Clark's grant on the Ohio and 714 at Vincennes. At the posts on the Great Lakes were to be found about 600. In Illinois proper the figures show 719 at Cahokia, 467 at Kaskaskia, 212 at Prairie du Rocher, and about 100 at Peoria. The centers of English speech were Bellefontaine, 286; Eagle, at that time the southernmost town of St. Clair county, 250; other scattered hamlets in modern Monroe county, 334; and fort Massiac, 90.[18]

It is apparent, then, that the population within the present boundaries of Illinois numbered about the same as it did fifty

[17] *American State Papers, Miscellaneous,* 1:206. Smith, *St. Clair Papers,* 2:480.

[18] Census of 1800, *United States Second and Third Census,* 20.

years before — roughly, 2,500. The majority were of French birth and were almost exclusively of the class called *habitants,* who are universally described as living in a condition of utmost poverty and filth. One writer describes their "wretched hovels" as being "ready to tumble down on the heads of starving Indians, French and negroes, all mixed together."[19] Governor St. Clair thought that the hardships through which the people had passed offered an adequate explanation. After reviewing the trying times of the Revolution, he adds: "To this succeeded three successive and extraordinary inundations from the Mississippi, which either swept away their crops or prevented their being planted. The loss of the greatest part of their trade with the Indians, which was a great resource, came upon them at this juncture, as well as the hostile incursions of some of the tribes which had ever before been in friendship with them; and to this was added the loss of their whole last crop of corn by an untimely frost. Extreme misery could not fail to be the consequence of such accumulated misfortunes."[20]

Some Frenchmen who had come to the Illinois country after the cession of the territory to the United States were of a different character and were prosperous. The conspicuous men of this class were Nicolas Jarrot, Pierre Menard, a Canadian, Jean Dumoulin, a Swiss, and Jean François Perrey, who came from France in 1792 and settled at Prairie du Pont.[21] These men adjusted themselves readily to the new conditions of the American frontier and played an important part in the building of the state; but, with the exception of this latter class, the vast majority of the French exercised almost no influence in politics.

Among them had settled a few from the eastern states and those south of the Ohio. John Reynolds estimated that in 1800 the English-speaking population, called "Americans" by the French, numbered from eight hundred to a thousand. About one hundred and fifty of these had come to the country before 1787, and the others had straggled in during the last decade of the century. They had experienced many hardships during

[19] Narrative of Mason in Strickland, *The Pioneers of the West,* 56.
[20] Smith, *St. Clair Papers,* 2:168.
[21] Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder and His Period in Illinois History,* 426.

the Indian wars, and for protection had been compelled to live in picketed stations, formed by log cabins placed close together and fortified by palisades. Conditions forced them to practice communism; while some of the men cultivated a common field in sight of the station, others stood guard.[22]

The Reverend John Clark, a pioneer preacher who visited Illinois in 1796, found that "the character of the American families was various. Some were religious people, both Baptist and Methodist; some were moral and respected the Sabbath; others were infidels or at least skeptical of all revealed truth. They paid no regard to religious meetings, and permitted their children to grow up without any moral restraint. They were fond of frolics, dances, horse-racing, card playing, and other vices, in which they were joined by many of the French population from the villages. They drank tafia and when fruit became plentiful, peach brandy was made, and rye whiskey obtained from the Monongahela country."[23]

The civilizing power of the churches in this far country was at this time not conspicuous. The French still clung to their faith and looked to their spiritual fathers for guidance; but during the last decade of the eighteenth century the parishes of the American Bottom were deprived of the regular services of priests. After the offers of the Spanish government to the missionaries of the valley had induced them to make their homes on the western bank, the long record of Catholic activities on the American Bottom temporarily comes almost to an end.[24] Now and then figures of priests from the western bank lighten this dark period in Illinois history, but none took up their permanent residence here.[25] Under the circumstances the church buildings fell into decay; and in 1809, the Trap-

[22] At the time of the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the New Design settlement, situated in the present county of Monroe, was the largest English-speaking community in Illinois. It soon began to extend south into Randolph county. In 1795 the town of Washington was laid off on the west bank of the Kaskaskia, Johnson J. Whiteside being one of the projectors. In 1797 Virginians to the number of 154 traveled down the Ohio in open flat boats, landed at Fort Massac, and made their way by land to New Design. *History of Randolph, Monroe, and Perry Counties,* 69; *"Father Clark," or The Pioneer Preacher,* 196.

[23] *Ibid.,* 196.

[24] Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records,* XLIX.

[25] St. Pierre in 1792, Gabriel Richard in 1793 and 1796, Pierre Janin in 1795, Donatian Olivier in 1799. Rothensteiner, "Kaskaskia," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* 1:210.

pist, Father Urbain Guillet, felt obliged to punish the Cahokians by refusing "to read the mass to them until they rebuild the roof and windows of their church."[26]

Occasionally a minister of some protestant denomination found his way to the small American settlements for a short visit. In 1787 business called the Reverend James Smith, a "Separate Baptist" from Kentucky, to the region, and he preached repeatedly. He returned in 1790 and was captured by the Indians, from whom he was ransomed by a French trader.[27] In January, 1794, the Reverend Josiah Dodge made a visit of some length, and two years later the Reverend Daniel Badgley of Virginia was successful in organizing at New Design a Baptist church with twenty-eight members.[28]

The Methodists appeared a few years later than the Baptists. In 1793 the Reverend Joseph Lillard came, and in 1796 both "Father" John Clark and the Reverend Hosea Riggs were engaged in missionary work and organized a class. It was not until 1803 that the first preacher was assigned to ride the circuit in Illinois; this was the Reverend Benjamin Young.[29]

The Illinois country felt the power of the United States not only through the territorial government but also through the presence of federal troops. The first detachment was sent because of the conduct of George Rogers Clark, once the hero of the Illinois villages. His restless spirit had become somewhat enfeebled by liquor and by constant brooding over the failure of Virginia to grant him the honor or even the justice that was his due, and he held himself in readiness to enter into western intrigues which were being continually concocted in Kentucky and which skirted very close to the border line of treachery to the union. In 1793 many of the western people, thoroughly imbued with the French revolutionary spirit, were prepared to embark on a harebrained enterprise, proposed by the French minister, Edward Charles Genet, to

[26] Lindsay, "Un Précurseur de la Trappe du Canada, Dom Urbain Guillet," in *La Nouvelle France*, March, 1915, p. 123.

[27] "*Father Clark,*" *or The Pioneer Preacher*, 197.

[28] *Ibid.*, 200 ff.

[29] *Ibid.*, 205; Short, "Early Religious Methods and Leaders in Illinois," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1902, p. 58.

raise armies in the great valley for the purpose of attacking the Spanish villages. Clark accepted a commission as major general in the French army and boasted that his name would attract many recruits. Particularly from the Illinois villages did he expect a rush to his standard.[30]

The federal authorities were thoroughly aroused by the critical situation. Governor St. Clair in 1793 issued a proclamation in which he warned the citizens to observe a strict neutrality toward Spain. All civil and military offieers were commanded "to use every means in their power to prevent any of the inhabitants from joining the said Frenchmen."[31] Major General Wayne was ordered to rebuild Fort Massiac, from this time on called "Massac" because of a misconception of the derivation. He was to "erect a strong redoubt and block house, with some suitable cannon from Fort Washington."[32] Major Thomas Doyle, to whom the work was intrusted, reached Fort Massac on June 12, 1794, his expedition consisting of ten boats.

As a military post, the fort was never of much importance, though a small body of troops was stationed there until 1812;[33] but in the economic history of the region, Fort Massac played an important part. Trade on the Ohio developed very rapidly in the last decade of the century; and, in 1799, for the collection of duties on merchandise and tonnage, congress created several districts, two of which touched the Illinois country, though only one ever attained importance. The district of Fort Massac, extending north and east with the fort as port of entry, became a real factor in the trade of the west; and in 1801 the district was extended to the basin of the Tennes-

[30] "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," in American Historical Association, *Report*, 1896, p. 969.

[31] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:321.

[32] *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, 1:458. The fort was named Massiac, after a French minister, and not "massacre" because of the massacre of the French garrison, as so frequently asserted. That event never took place. For a typical statement of this misconception, see Washburne, *Edwards Papers*, 35, note.

[33] See journal of Benjamin Van Cleve in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1903, p. 62; "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," in American Historical Association, *Report*, 1896, p. 1079 ff.; Scott, "Old Fort Massac," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1903, p. 38 ff. In 1808 there were only fifty men in garrison, Captain Daniel Bird being in command. Cummings, *Tour to the Western Country*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 4:277.

see and Cumberland rivers. All boats carrying goods to market were obliged to report at the fort and from the inventories of cargoes it is learned that a considerable amount of merchandise was passing up and down the Ohio.[34] The first years of the eighteenth century saw a very remarkable era in the building of ocean-going ships on the Ohio. Before this industry was brought to an untimely end by President Jefferson's embargo policy, probably one hundred vessels were built in western shipyards; and from the report of tonnage duties collected at Fort Massac in 1802, it would appear that three ships of one hundred and fifty tons to six ships of seventy-five tons were built in that district. After 1807 there was a rearrangement of the administration of tax collecting, and all Illinois and the surrounding territory fell into the district of Mississippi.[35]

Other representatives of the United States besides the soldiers and tax collectors were the Indian agents. All Illinois with the exception of the French villages belonged to the Indian reservation and most of the land of the future state still remained the home of the Indians as it had existed for thousands of years.[36] These Indians were regularly visited by the British traders, with whom their interests were much more closely allied than they were with the near-by villagers on the American Bottom; as yet American traders were not entering seriously into competition with these foreigners. The United States, fully realizing the importance of trade as a means of maintaining friendly relations with the Indians, made repeated efforts to break the British hold over the natives on this side of the international boundary. Late in 1786 the continental congress passed an ordinace dividing the Indian department into a southern and a northern district, the latter including all the tribes dwelling north of the Ohio and west of the Hudson river. In charge of each district was placed a superintendent with authority to appoint deputies, who were

[34] Among other products noted were tobacco, flour, whiskey, beer, brandy, gin, apples, pork, lard, bacon, venison, hams, country linen, saddles, bridles, saltpeter, shoes, potatoes, hemp, castings, iron, guns, nails, glass bottles, and window glass.

[35] Hulbert, "Early Commerce in Illinois as Shown by the Creation of Ports of Entry," manuscript in the Illinois Historical Survey.

[36] For a description of the Indians at this time see below, p. 464 ff.

expected to make their residence in such places as would be most convenient for an oversight of the wards of the nation. The right to carry on trade within the territory of the United States was restricted to American citizens, who must secure licenses.[37] In 1790 this system, with some changes, one of which was the elimination of the clause concerning foreigners, was adopted by the United States congress; and it was continued without any alteration of moment until 1816. The first superintendent of the northern district was Governor Arthur St. Clair. On February 23, 1802, the secretary of war announced the decision of the president to place this responsibility in the hands of the territorial governors. William Henry Harrison became, therefore, the superintendent for the Indians residing in the territory of Indiana and thereafter signed himself not only "Superintendent of Indian Affairs" but also "Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States."[38] To assist him in his operations were appointed agents who resided in various parts of the extensive territory.

The trade monopoly of the British was not affected by this branch of the Indian department and since the initiative of individual traders did not furnish a real competition, the United States determined to enter into the trade itself, although the proposal to do so, in spite of the indorsement of President Washington, met with strenuous opposition in congress. In 1796 two United States trading factories were tried among the southern Indians, and in 1803 others were established, two north of the Ohio river, and in later years still more, until by 1808 there were twelve such establishments. In 1805 such a post was located at Chicago, where it remained in operation until 1812. The object of these Indian factories was not to make money but rather to furnish the Indians at a reasonable cost with the merchandise they required. The hope of those supporting this measure in congress was that these stores would promote friendly relations with the tribes and prove a means of education "by encouraging and gradually introdu-

[37] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:14. For a general discussion see Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 291.

[38] Indian Office Letter Book, A, 1801-1804, p. 166; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 1:687.

cing the arts of husbandry and domestic manufactories among them."[39]

The clerk of the United States factory at Chicago found other representatives of the government there. To protect the frontier against the Indians and the British, Fort Dearborn had been erected in 1803 by Colonel William Whistler, who may be considered the real founder of the future city on the lake, although before the coming of the garrison there were standing on the bank of the Chicago river four cabins belonging to traders. The year after the establishment of Fort Dearborn there arrived in the person of John Kinzie the most important early resident, if not the first, of Chicago.[40]

While the population of the Illinois country was remaining practically stationary, there was taking place the most important event in the history of the United States and one of the most momentous in the history of humanity — the occupation of the great Mississippi valley by men of English speech. What the French government had failed to accomplish, what British ministries had discussed at length, what had been so vital an issue in the continental congress, was being brought to pass by hordes of pioneers acting on their own initiative in the hope of bettering their economic condition. The dream of speculators for a hundred years was being realized, but big business did not enter into the realization to the degree that had been the hope of many an early Moses of the wilderness. The holders of millions of acres had failed to reach the promised land.

These early home seekers found seductive opportunities for securing farm land in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. In 1800 when the population of the present states of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin was about 6,000, Ohio had 45,000, and Kentucky could boast of 220,000. Most of the settlers had followed the trail to the west along the Ohio or one of its branches; they came from Pennsylvania or the south and gave to the new states a decided strain of southern blood. Many northerners, however, were treading the path of the founders

[39] Circular letter of war department, February 23, 1802, Indian Office Letter Book, A, 1801-1804, p. 166. On the Indian factory at Chicago, consult Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 292 ff.

[40] For the best account of these early years of Chicago see *ibid.*, 127 ff.

of Marietta and were spreading from that center north and west; or they were following the trail which led through the Mohawk valley and along the southern shore of Lake Erie, where Yankees were setting up another New England in the Connecticut reserve. It was to be many years before these northern emigrants would reach the goal—Illinois. In the first heat the southerners were to win.

Between 1800 and 1809, the pioneers began paying more attention to the prairie territory. A petition of the people of Randolph and St. Clair counties in January, 1806, estimated that 750 newcomers had settled in those counties since 1801 and that there were 650 people living on the Ohio between the Wabash and Fort Massac; by adding the probable number of settlers in what is now Wisconsin, they stretched the figure of the total population west of the present Indiana boundary to 4,311.[41] The next four years saw a much more rapid increase; in 1810 the total population was 12,282. In a decade almost four times as many immigrants had entered the country as in the preceding century.[42]

Considering the attractions that the fertile soil of Illinois should have had for new settlers, it seems strange that the tide of immigration was so slow in setting toward the prairies. The explanation is found in the many difficulties that were to be overcome. To the people living in the year 1800 unwooded lands were more deterrent than attractive for settlement. The rule of thumb for the selection of rich soil was the presence of tall trees; the prairies of the state, therefore, seemed to point to a lack of fertility. In a memorial written in 1805 the people of Illinois asserted that because of the "unfertile" stretches, "the communication between them and the settlements east of the river [the Wabash] cannot in the common course of things, for centuries yet to come, be supported with the least benefit, or be of the least moment to either of them."[43] There was a real difficulty in making settlements upon the prairies, which offered neither wood for the building of houses and barns and

[41] Dunn, "Slavery Petitions and Papers," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 2: 505.

[42] Census of 1810, *United States Second and Third Census*, 2.

[43] Dunn, "Slavery Petitions and Papers," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 2: 485.

for fire nor rivers for the transportation of goods. The earliest settlements of Illinois, therefore, were merely fringes along the river banks. It was not until 1814, four years before Illinois was admitted to the union, that the first daring pioneers pushed their cabins out into the open as the precursors of the modern era. Furthermore, the experience of all newcomers with malaria, due to the myriads of mosquitoes that found breeding places in the stagnant pools of the American Bottom and on the undrained prairies, had given Illinois the reputation of being particularly unhealthful.

Far more serious than either of these difficulties as a cause for retardation of settlement was the impossibility of obtaining titles to land. The United States had adopted the policy of purchasing land from the Indians before opening it to settlers. Governor St. Clair was the first to attempt this in the Illinois country. He had been ordered to purchase cessions from the Indians, but on his first visit he was unable to discover any nation with a clear title to the southern lands of Illinois. He was limited, furthermore, by the late treaty of Greenville, in accordance with which every foot of land in Illinois not in the actual possession of some white man, or in the reserved posts, was relinquished to the Indians.[44]

With the appointment of William Henry Harrison as Indian superintendent a new era began. Harrison understood the wishes of the westerners and was always ready to court popularity by pleasing them, hoping by his Indian policy to overcome the opposition aroused by his civil administration. Treaty followed treaty in quick succession, the superintendent showing a readiness to enter into negotiations with any faction or isolated band of Indians who would consent to a relinquishment of land titles; he seldom troubled himself about either the justice of the claims of the contracting party or the representative character of the chiefs, if signatures to a treaty could be obtained. In 1803 a treaty was made with the Kaskaskia, whereby their claim to the southern part of the Illinois country was extinguished; in 1804 a few chiefs of the Sauk and Foxes were persuaded at St. Louis to relinquish their claims to the land lying west of the Illinois and Fox rivers, an agreement that

[44] See above, p. 399.

was in the course of time to cause many difficulties.[45] In 1805 land on the Wabash was purchased from the Piankashaw. The last of this series of treaties was made at Fort Wayne in 1809. Harrison's activities were watched with anxiety by President Jefferson, who more than once recommended restraint and even reproved the ardent Indian superintendent for his aggressive policy.[46]

In spite of Harrison's activities in clearing the territory from Indian claims, years were to pass before all complications in Illinois were straightened out and the United States was ready to permit settlement. The result was that until 1814 the only Illinois land to which legal titles could be obtained was in the possession of the early French inhabitants or of those who had bought from them; these titles had been legalized potentially by congress' blanket confirmation of all proper grants. The situation had been further complicated in 1788 by the act of the continental congress granting four hundred acres as bounty to the French in compensation for their injuries during the Revolutionary War.

The first attempt to bring order out of the chaos in land titles was made in 1790 by Governor St. Clair, who issued a proclamation to the inhabitants ordering them to prove their claims to lands under this act of congress.[47] The governor found that the land had never been properly surveyed, that there were no plans of the villages, and that many of the

[45] Abel, "History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," in American Historical Association, *Report*, 1906, 1:267. This is by all odds the best account of the United States Indian policy. For a history and map of Indian cessions in Illinois, consult Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, p. 37 ff. The cessions are listed chronologically with colored map in Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States.* The treaties can be found in Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties;* consult also *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* volumes 1 and 2. The treaties made by Harrison were: Vincennes, September 17, 1802; Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803; Vincennes, August 13, 1803; Vincennes, August 18, 1804; St. Louis, November 3, 1804; Grouseland, near Vincennes, August 21, 1805; Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809.

[46] Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:400. After the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, there gradually was evolved the policy of removing the Indians across the Mississippi.

[47] The Illinois people were protected in their land titles by the treaty of peace of 1763, that of 1783, and by the cession of Virginia in 1784. On the difficulty of locating the cessions made by congress see a petition of the people in Dunn, "Slavery Petitions and Papers," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 2:465. St. Clair's proclamation dated March 7, 1790, is found in Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 2:165.

French people objected to being forced to pay for surveying farms which had been in their families for generations. Many were actually too poor to meet the expense. Nevertheless, he ordered that maps be made. Under the law all grants derived from John Todd and the Virginia courts had to be rejected;[48] this action affected the American settlers in particular, and in his report to congress St. Clair called attention to the hardships that the decision involved. The result of this report was the law of March 3, 1791, confirming the cession of four hundred acres to each head of a family resident in the Illinois country in 1783, including those who had later moved outside the limits of the territory but who had now returned; also all tracts of land possessed before 1783 that had been allotted according to the laws and usages of the contemporary governments were confirmed to those who had departed from the territory, provided they returned within five years. Furthermore, all lands that had been taken up under a supposed authority and improved were to be confirmed. In addition, one hundred acres were granted to each person who had not obtained a donation from the United States and who, on August 1, 1790, was enrolled in the militia of the Illinois country.[49]

When St. Clair returned to Kaskaskia in 1795, the situation in regard to the land was not greatly improved; there was only one person in the region who knew anything about surveying; and, further, people still refused to pay the cost. It was at this time, however, that he laid out the militia claims, which offered no difficulty.[50] Since the governor had to cut the Gordian knot of land titles in some manner, he placed upon the secretary of the territory the burden of allotting the land. Later United States commissioners who were appointed to reinvestigate the whole question found only rough minutes of the transactions of the secretary, and those were very difficult to interpret, for sometimes there had been granted

[48] It was estimated that about 48,000 acres had been thus ceded. *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 1:10.

[49] *Annals of Congress,* 1 congress, 1 session, 2:2348. Mason, "Lists of Early Illinois Citizens," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection,* 4:195. At the same time a tract of land hitherto occupied by the priests of Cahokia was granted to Father Gibault, and the land of the Jesuits which had been bought by the Bauvais family in 1764 was confirmed to them.

[50] Smith, *St. Clair Papers,* 2:398 ff.

400 acres as a donation, sometimes 200, and sometimes 25. The result of this arbitrarily and carelessly executed method was to make the people even more dissatisfied.[51]

There was still another cause for the delay in offering lands for sale in Illinois; the United States government was extremely slow in putting into execution a land policy that satisfied the needs of home seekers. The ineffective land ordinance of 1785 remained in effect and unchanged until January 28, 1796, when congress passed a new land law; but under the influence of William Henry Harrison, delegate to congress from the Old Northwest, this was again altered on May 10, 1800. This last enactment of congress did not differ in principle from the two previous ones, but it created four offices in the west, each in charge of a register and a receiver. The needs of the home seekers were given consideration by reducing half the lots offered for sale to 320 acres each. This law remained in force with some modifications until 1820. Under it, if a man desired to buy a tract from the government he could either attend the public auction, which lasted three weeks, or purchase the land thereafter at private sale.[52]

The conditions imposed were not wholly agreeable to the west, although the rapidity with which the land was sold under the act of 1800 indicates that it met needs fairly well. Still many petitions for changes were signed and between 1800 and 1820 several minor conditions were altered. On March 26, 1804, an act was passed making provision for the disposal of land in the Indiana Territory in quarter sections and reserving the sixteenth section in every township for a school and an entire township in each district for a seminary. The powers of the surveyor-general over land north of the Ohio were extended

[51] *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 1:90.

[52] If he paid cash for his land, the discount that was given made the price of land $1.84 an acre; and if he preferred to pay in certificates, worth at that time about 75 cents, he could make a still better bargain, the half section costing him $588.93 plus certain fees. If, on the other hand, he preferred the credit system, he paid $32 down and then within forty days, $128. The next payment, due at the end of two years, amounted to $179.20, with the addition of six per cent interest. If he paid the other two quarters promptly his quarter section would cost him $726.40 plus various fees which amounted to $11. The system had its disadvantages, because it induced men to take up larger tracts of land than they were able to pay for. Speculation in public lands was thus promoted, but on a much smaller scale than under the million-acre act of the continental congress. Treat, *The National Land System,* 102 ff.

to the territory of the present states of Indiana and Illinois and he was empowered to appoint a deputy surveyor. Land offices were established at Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia. In addition, provision was made for the claimants to lands under the French and British grants, and the register and receiver were empowered to act in the capacity of land commissioners within their districts.[53]

The problem confronting the land commissioners of the Kaskaskia office was a most perplexing and difficult one on account of the United States laws passed in the hope of doing justice to the early settlers. These had created in the Illinois country a confusion which had deepened as time went on. Many original claimants to bounties and cessions were dead or had moved permanently to the Spanish side of the river. The French of the older régime exhibited very little faith in the future of the country and in the promises of congress. The result was that claims of all kinds were sold for a song — four-hundred-acre head rights for from thirty to two hundred dollars, the one-hundred-acre militia rights for from six to fourteen dollars, while improvement rights were staple at fifty cents an acre.[54] In Cahokia there had been granted four hundred head rights which by November 30, 1798, had passed into the hands of eighty-nine persons, only twelve of whom were French.[55]

The announcement that the United States had appointed commissioners to straighten out the tangled web of land titles made valuable the cessions that had been yearly sinking in esteem. A violent hysteria of speculation in these old titles broke out; everybody sought to accumulate claims, and dealings in them became the speculative mania of the villages. When claimants known to have existed had disappeared, titles to their lands were created by affidavits — some claimants were themselves thus created. A class of professional witnesses with elastic memories sprang up and did a thriving business.

[53] Treat, *The National Land System*, 120.

[54] *History of Randolph, Monroe, and Perry Counties, Illinois*, 101. I have been told that there was a case of a Frenchman parting with his bounty claim for a jug of whisky. On February 22, 1799, Pierre Menard sold to two Baltimore men 9,233 1/3 acres consisting of such claims for $9,000. *Ibid.*

[55] *History of St. Clair County*, 75.

The hysteria became so virulent in the villages that respectable citizens were blinded to the wrong in the shadiest of transactions, particularly since the United States government was to be the only sufferer. Consequently some of the most honored men in the communities became involved in the meshes of the grossest deceit, and few who possessed the means to speculate could pride themselves on having maintained an irreproachable innocence.

The land commissioners were empowered to compel witnesses to attend their meetings and to administer oaths; it was their duty to pass judgment, in the first place, on all titles and to report to congress their findings for confirmation or rejection. There was an element of politics in the whole process of investigation which should have been avoided by referring the questions at issue to United States courts. The commissioners found the situation in the Illinois villages so complex that they were unable to report in the appointed time, and congress extended the term. The report was finally completed on December 31, 1809.

A very slight investigation of titles aroused the suspicion of the land commissioners as to the honesty of many of the claims presented to them, and a thorough sifting of the evidence ended in an exposé of fraud.[56] Land speculators, of whom the most conspicuous were John Edgar, Robert Morrison, Robert Reynolds, Richard Lord, and William Kelley, had suborned witnesses to swear to whatever was required to lay the foundations for claims. After presenting the evidence, the commissioners, Michael Jones and Elijah Backus, ended their report with these words: "We close this melancholy picture of depravity, by rendering our devout acknowledgments that, in the awful alternative in which we have been placed, of either admitting perjured testimony in support of the claims before us, or having it turned against our characters and lives, it has, as yet, pleased that Divine Providence which

[56] The best discussion of this whole matter is to be found in Treat, *The National Land System*, chapter 9. The report of the commissioners can be found in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, 2: 123 ff. The documents proving the older cessions were found in a wretched state of preservation. The present condition of the Kaskaskia manuscripts indicates that at some time the papers containing land cessions have been destroyed.

rules over the affairs of men to preserve us both from legal murder and private assassination."[57]

The report of the commissioners did not include those claims that had been confirmed by the governors of the Northwest and Indiana Territories, but congress further empowered the investigation of these titles by the commissioners, who, on January 4, 1813, sent a report favoring the adoption of some and recommending the rejection of others. Both reports were confirmed by congress.[58]

The findings of the land commissioners were to become an issue in politics, but the rise of factions in Illinois was due to another weighty issue. A grievance which the people of the Illinois country had nursed since the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 took its origin in the famous sixth clause prohibiting slavery in the Old Northwest. Although Governor St. Clair construed the clause as in no way freeing the slaves who had been so long owned by the French people, still many Illinoisians left the villages of the American Bottom for fear of losing their property. A later interpretation that the children of these slaves were born free made the issue vital.[59] From 1796 to 1809 petition followed petition with great rapidity. The clause was attacked on many grounds: it was illegal because the inhabitants of the territory had not been consulted; it was harmful, since it deterred desirable settlers; it was economically bad, since it cut off the supply of much-needed labor in a community where wages were high. The petitioners asked for the abrogation of the clause; or, failing that, they demanded its suspension for ten years.

In all these petitions there is evidence of almost no opposition to the introduction of slavery in the Illinois part of the Indiana Territory; still it is in the discussion of the subject that two factions in the Indiana Territory first became apparent; both were pro-slavery in character, but they wished to attain their ends by different means. The leader of one of

[57] *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 2:126 ff.

[58] *Ibid.,* 210 ff. Reports confirmed by acts of May 1, 1810, and February 20, 1812. Treat, *The National Land System,* 218 ff.

[59] See petition of 1796, in *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 1:68. Numerous petitions for and against slaves are printed in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications,* 2:480 ff. For a longer discussion of politics see Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 184 ff., and Dunn, *Indiana, passim.*

these factions was Governor Harrison, who by his appointive power was able to hold to his side an influential body of men led by the territorial officials. In Illinois the outstanding men who looked to the governor for guidance were Pierre Menard, with a large following among the Frenchmen, and Dr. George Fisher, both of Kaskaskia; in Cahokia the leaders were the Shadrach Bonds, uncle and nephew.

The anti-Harrison party was led by John Edgar and William and Robert Morrison, who succeeded finally in gathering around them a majority of the Illinois people. Besides the demand for the introduction of slavery, their platform had two planks: opposition to the territorial administration, and Illinois for Illinoisians. They complained bitterly — and with justice — that Harrison chose the majority of his appointees from Knox county to the detriment of St. Clair and Randolph. To remedy this condition, they demanded that Illinois be separated from Indiana, with which it had only slight economic relations.

The slavery question was chosen as the issue. Edgar and the Morrisons claimed that Harrison with his policy of petitions was accomplishing nothing and demanded that the territory advance at once to the second grade of government; they hoped by this means to limit Harrison's power. When they learned that the United States had purchased Louisiana, they petitioned that Illinois be joined with any new territorial government that should be formed out of it — across the river slavery was permitted. Instead of granting their petition, however, the United States placed the new district of Louisiana for a short time under the administration of Harrison and his associates.

In 1803 Harrison and the judges, in order to secure some relief for the labor market, passed a law permitting the indenture of servants, which was in fact a disguised form of slavery. So hostile was the opposing faction that it later made this law, or rather a repetition of it, one of the charges against the governor.

Harrison, who had first opposed the advance of Indiana to the second grade of territorial government, in 1804 changed his attitude and suddenly called for a vote on the subject.

With that contrariness characteristic of opposition parties, the Edgar-Morrison faction resisted the move and made bitter complaint of the methods employed by the enemy; and there is evidence that the whole affair was hurried to completion by the governor in order to confuse his adversaries. At any rate, the votes cast were more than two to one in favor of the change and Harrison at once called for an election of representatives for the new legislature. Again his adherents were victorious, Shadrach Bond, Jr., and William Biggs being elected in St. Clair county and Dr. George Fisher in Randolph.

From that time on the struggle between the factions became more and more intense and bitter. In 1804 the governor secured an able recruit in Michael Jones, the register of the land office and one of the land commissioners at Kaskaskia; but Jones' act in uncovering the fraudulent claims of many prominent men, in which he was supported by Harrison, introduced into the factional strife an element that intensified the personal animosities. The members of the Edgar-Morrison faction were fighting for property and honor in their effort to overthrow the governor's ring. A new plank was now added to the platform: Michael Jones must be driven from office and from the territory. The infusion of this question of land titles into politics weakened the effect of the commissioners' report and strengthened the suspicion of the judicial character of their decisions.

Beginning with the year 1807, the chance of success for the anti-Harrison crowd became more promising. The results of Michael Jones' investigations were arousing the people; almost everyone had engaged in land speculation in some form; no one felt free from guilt; anyone might be the next to be hauled before the land commissioners. Harrison lost at this time the able support of John Rice Jones, lawyer, member of the territorial council, and sometime citizen of Kaskaskia. The cause of his disagreement with the governor is unknown, but his son, Rice Jones, had just established his law office at Kaskaskia and had thrown himself whole-heartedly into the defense of the men accused of fraud by Michael Jones, the governor's friend. Some of the land claimed by John Rice Jones had become involved in the investigation.

The growing strength of the opposition was revealed in an election to fill the vacancies in the house of representatives caused by the appointment of George Fisher of Randolph county and Shadrach Bond, Jr., of St. Clair to the territorial council. The Edgar-Morrison partisans were successful; Rice Jones was elected in the southern and John Messenger, the first Yankee in Illinois politics, in the northern county.

Meanwhile many northerners with antislavery sentiments had settled in the Indiana part of the territory, particularly in Dearborn county. These were opposed to Governor Harrison on account of his antislavery proclivities; but they had no objection to uniting with the Edgar-Morrison crowd, provided the latter would confine their energies to the Illinois country. The union of these two factions opposed to the governor gave them a majority in the house of representatives.[60] The issue was the establishment of Illinois as a separate territory. In achieving this end the representative in congress would be an important factor. Jesse B. Thomas of Dearborn county was selected as candidate by those in favor of separation; the Harrison faction put forward the man who was so dreaded in the western villages, Michael Jones. Thomas, after agreeing to work for a division — it is reported that the Illinois people demanded from him security — was easily elected.

Petitions for congress were next prepared. The Edgar-Morrison faction pointed out the grievances that had been suffered under Harrison and the inconveniences of having the center of government so far from the villages on the Mississippi; they also made an answer to a petition of the opposing faction that had succeeded in obtaining many names, a large proportion being those of illiterate Frenchmen.

In December, 1808, these petitions were referred by congress to a committee of which Thomas was chairman. Little trouble was experienced in obtaining a favorable report; and on February 9, 1809, an act was approved setting off the territory of Illinois with boundaries extending northward to the Canadian line.

The character of factional politics at the moment when

[60] On the political situation consult Dunn, *Indiana*, 260 ff.

Illinois was established as a territory was illustrated by a tragic occurrence that stretched emotions to the breaking point. Out of the political arguments there arose a duel between Shadrach Bond, Jr., of the Harrison faction and Rice Jones of the Edgar-Morrison. On the field of honor the quarrel was ended without bloodshed, but not to the satisfaction of Dr. James Dunlap, Bond's second. There followed bitter vituperations, and Dunlap's anger was aroused to the extent of threatening Rice Jones with corporal chastisement; finally, on December 7, 1808, on a street in Kaskaskia, he shot down his adversary with a pistol. The murderer fled and was never apprehended. The friends of Rice Jones saw in his death the opportunity which they had been seeking: Michael Jones, the dangerous land commissioner, must now be driven out of the territory.

The assassination of the popular Rice Jones was openly attributed by his friends to the machinations of Michael Jones and Elijah Backus, and the accusation was made in the press in a letter addressed by John Edgar to the secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, and in one addressed by William Morrison to Congressman Matthew Lyon, in the hope of having the land commissioners deprived of their offices. In conversation the members of the anti-Harrison group asserted their belief in the guilt of the accused and declared that the people were prepared to "exterminate or drive out of the country" the "murderous faction." The feeling of the people was evidently not so intense as pictured, for Michael Jones was shortly afterwards elected lieutenant colonel of the militia.

The land commissioners dated their report to congress on the land titles December 31, 1809. On July 20 of that year a grand jury indicted Michael Jones for "feloniously and Maliciously [inciting] James Dunlap" to murder Rice Jones.[61] The case did not come to trial until April 10, 1810, when a jury exonerated Michael Jones, but the judges excused the

[61] In the public charges made the name of the other land commissioner, Elijah Backus, is always linked with that of Jones, and the testimony that was evidently introduced in the case went to prove that Dr. Dunlap was in the house of Backus a few minutes before he committed the deed; yet no action was brought against Backus; the reason may have been that he was never so actively engaged in politics and occasionally acted with the Edgar-Morrison faction. Jones, "Rice Jones," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection*, 4:277.

prosecutor since he had "probable grounds" for the indictment.

Michael Jones was not satisfied with this outcome. On April 14, 1810, he entered suit against John Edgar for $11,000, William Morrison for $15,000, and Robert Morrison for $9,000 damages for defamation of character. In the September court of 1811 a jury rendered a verdict for the plaintiff against William Morrison and granted him $200 damages and costs. The plaintiff withdrew the case against Robert Morrison; and in 1813 John Edgar compromised by agreeing to pay the plaintiff $300 and costs and to make a public declaration "that Michael Jones was entirely innocent of any part in the murder of Rice Jones."[62]

The result of these suits at law was apparently a complete vindication of the innocence of Michael Jones—a "sprightly man" with a "mind above the ordinary range," Governor Reynolds calls him, though he adds, "but his passion at times swept over it like a tornado."[63] His passion and that of his opponents had involved the question of the land titles in a partisan strife that boded ill for the peace and future prosperity of the territory. In the social conditions, the opportunity for land speculation, the distance from centers of civilization, and the absence of a well-established and orderly government must be sought the explanation of this occurrence that made the closing year of the history of the Illinois country so dramatic. The murder of Rice Jones marked the end of an era. The Illinois country gave place to modern Illinois. New faces, new conditions, a larger population, and a new history had begun. The Illinois villages of the American Bottom, planted a hundred years before by French priests and French speculators, were no longer to hold the center of the stage in the drama unfolding itself on the prairies.

[62] The history of these cases is drawn directly from the record of the court of the territorial judges, office of the circuit clerk, Chester, Illinois. See also *Missouri Gazette,* December 14, 1808, and quotation from a Morrison record book in Jones, "Rice Jones," in *Chicago Historical Society's Collection,* 4:277. The author, Mr. Jones, takes for granted that Michael Jones was guilty.

[63] Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois* (ed. 1887), 352.

XX. THE INDIANS AT BAY

AFTER one hundred and thirty-six years of gestation Illinois was born — born in the whirlwind raised by the violence and disorder that had for years rent Kaskaskia. In every village prevailed partisan strife and personal hatred. Over the grave of Rice Jones faced each other factions of angry and vindictive men. Upon such a scene the opening eyes of the Illinois Territory gazed.[1]

At the moment of the inauguration of the new government, the heat of factional hatred was most intense, because, for a short time, the Edgar-Morrison faction labored under the impression that Nathaniel Pope was to be the governor, and in their accusations of the land commissioner they cried out loudly against the selection of a member of that "murderous faction" which they proposed to drive out of the territory.[2] Pope, who had been selected for the position of territorial secretary, had been living in the country for about a year, during which time he had associated himself in politics with his relative, Michael Jones, by whom he had been put forward as a rival of Rice Jones.

Since the appointment of the governor had been delayed, it became the duty of the secretary to proclaim the establishment of the territory, and this he did on April 28, 1809. The friends of Edgar and the Morrisons saw the danger of losing the leadership in the territory and presented the new governor, on his arrival, with a petition urging that he appoint to office only their partisans, the advocates of the division of the In-

[1] Governor Ninian Edwards described the conditions as follows: "Unfortunately the Territory had been divided into violent parties. Political controversies had degenerated into personal animosities of the most rancorous and vindictive nature. The combination of political dissensions and private hatred had convulsed the whole society, and exhibited a scene of mutual struggle to put down those who were opposed to each other. In this state of things, so much to be deprecated by dispassionate men, I found the Territory, when I came to it." Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 33.

[2] Record of the court of the territorial judges, office of the circuit clerk, Chester, Illinois.

diana Territory, since they "have a claim on your excellency for the calumnies, indignities and other enormities which those who opposed that measure never ceased to heap upon the friends and advocates of the present system of our government."[3] They particularly urged the governor to place his seal upon the books of the hated land commissioners in the expectation of an inquiry and the establishment of a new board.

The governor, who had been selected by President Madison upon the recommendation of Senator John Pope and Henry Clay of Kentucky, was Ninian Edwards.[4] He was thirty-four years old, was possessed of an active mind, well trained for that day, a confidence in himself which had been fostered by his rapid rise to the head of the Kentucky bar, and a financial competence sufficient to make him a man of importance quite apart from his political position.[5]

Edwards' claim that he had come as "a perfect stranger" into the hotbed of political factions was not altogether true. His relative and political godfather in Kentucky was Senator John Pope, brother of Nathaniel. The opinions of both the brothers concerning the character of the Illinois leaders were in no way favorable to the Edgar-Morrison group, which was asking for sole recognition in appointments to office.[6] Still, the new governor harbored no intention of throwing himself into the arms of either of the factions; and, in accordance with his character and political principles, he attempted to please both by leaving the appointment of officials to popular selection. Edwards had been brought up in the tenets of Jeffersonian democracy and by repeating the master's popular platitudes in speeches and in letters he tried to produce anæsthesia in the turbulent minds around him.

Time worked in his favor. Immigration was increasing and the newcomers from the south and east "knew not Joseph." Old faces were passing away, and the new faces were lighted

[3] Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 28.

[4] The governor first selected was Judge John Boyle of Kentucky, who resigned. Edwards' appointment was dated April 24.

[5] Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 14 ff.; Moses, *Illinois*, 1:241; Snyder, *Adam W. Snyder and His Period in Illinois History*, 12. For a characterization of Edwards see *Centennial History of Illinois*, 2:93.

[6] See Senator Pope's statement of his distrust of the Morrisons in Washburne, *Edwards Papers*, 40.

with the hope of the future. Last year's quarrels held no interest for this year's citizens. Many of the new men, notably Benjamin Stephenson and Daniel Pope Cook, were political friends and *protegés* of Edwards; on the other hand, several of the most forceful of the newcomers, Jesse B. Thomas, Elias Kent Kane, and John McLean, were opposed to the governor. In a sense the old Harrison and anti-Harrison factions were replaced by Edwards and anti-Edwards factions; but the new lines were drawn with no such distinctness as the old ones had been, and neither of the new factions reproduced either of the old. Michael Jones, for instance, found himself associated with some of his former opponents in the anti-Edwards group, whereas a number of the former partisans of Harrison, such as Bond, Menard, and Fisher, never affiliated themselves with any group, each trusting to his own personal popularity when seeking office.[7]

The administration of the territory resided in the officers appointed by the president in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787. These were the governor, to serve for two years, the three judges, Jesse B. Thomas, Obediah Jones — soon replaced by Stanley Griswold — and Alexander Stuart, and the secretary, Nathaniel Pope.[8] The governor and the judges possessed quasi-legislative powers and could select laws that were in force in any of the existing states. In the case of Illinois, there already existed a body of statutes that had been developed in the Old Northwest and in the Indiana Territory which had served frontier conditions fairly satisfactorily; these formed the nucleus of the later legal code of the Illinois Territory.

The organization of the county government established by Governor Edwards in the two counties then existing, Ran-

[7] Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 200 ff.

[8] Edwards' appointment was renewed each time it expired throughout the territorial period. On March 16, 1810, Stanley Griswold was appointed in the place of Jones, who appears never to have served. Stuart resigned in 1813 and was replaced by William Sprigg on July 9, 1813. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833,* p. 28; Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 198, 200. Griswold died in Shawneetown, August 21, 1815, and Thomas Towles was appointed in his place, October 28. On April 20, 1818, Richard Graham was appointed to take the place of someone, possibly Sprigg. *Ibid.,* 205, note 221. For the legislation by the governor and judges see James, *Information Relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois Passed from 1809-1812.*

Ninian Edwards

[From original painting owned by Chicago Historical Society]

dolph and St. Clair, differed somewhat from the Indiana system. The administrative functions which in Indiana were performed by the courts of common pleas were located in courts composed of the justices of the peace, who heard appeals in minor cases from decisions of individual justices. Jurisdiction over all other cases, both civil and criminal, was lodged in the "general court" composed of the federal judges, who were required to hold court twice a year in each county.

To inaugurate the government the county officers — justices, sheriff, coroner, surveyor, treasurer, and recorder — were appointed by gubernatorial prerogative; later Governor Edwards, by basing his appointments on recommendations or petitions, virtually allowed the election of these officers by the voters they were to serve. The same policy was followed in regard to the commissions in the militia, each unit being permitted to elect its own officers.[9] The substitution of popular selection for his own appointive power probably recommended itself as an effective means of preserving his independence of the factions; but it is also safe to say that Edwards was sincerely interested in fostering democratic self-government in the territory.[10]

The Illinois people had always exhibited an eagerness to push ahead. They had been among the first to demand that the Indiana Territory advance to the second grade of government; they had fought for separation from Indiana; and they soon asked that their own territory take the next step toward statehood. Edwards, with his democratic principles, raised no objection; and the vote taken on the question in April, 1812, was almost unanimous. The governor had the power to inaugurate the second grade of territorial government by proclamation; but he consulted congress on the question of suffrage. The situation was anomalous; most of the potential voters were squatters, since it was impossible to secure titles to land; yet the Ordinance of 1787 restricted the

[9] Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 31.

[10] See communication of Edwards to James Kinney in answer to a petition to remove Robert Morrison from the office of clerk of the general court, in *Missouri Gazette*, June 28, 1810. John Pope took Edwards to task for this policy, accusing him of shirking a responsibility fairly belonging to his official duties. Washburne, *Edwards Papers*, 40.

right to vote to freeholders. Congress corrected the obvious injustice by passing a law on May 20, 1812, whereby suffrage was given to adult males who had resided in the territory a year and had paid a county or territorial tax.[11]

Three new counties, Madison, Gallatin, and Johnson, were now proclaimed, making five in all; and in October the new organization was completed by the election of a delegate to congress, Shadrach Bond, Jr.; of a council of five, one from each county, to assist the governor; and of a house of representatives made up of two members from St. Clair and one from each of the other three counties. The election revealed the changing conditions in the world of politics. On the roster of the legislature appear the names of only three of the older residents: Pierre Menard, president of the council, William Biggs, a member of the same body, and George Fisher, speaker of the house. The other men were newcomers, or at least new men in politics.[12]

The problem of securing an adequate judiciary was a political issue recurrent throughout the territorial period. After the governor and the judges in their legislative capacities had failed in their attempts to work out a satisfactory administration of local justice, the territorial legislature, when it came into being, undertook further reorganization. In the process, however, it attempted also to specify how and when the federal judges should hold their sessions. These officials, who from the first had taken their judicial responsibilities lightly and had absented themselves from the territory for long periods at a time, now resented this attempt to regulate their duties and criticized the rather ambiguous form in which the legislature had passed the law. A fairly sharp alignment of factions resulted: Judges Thomas and Sprigg — Griswold remained neutral — found plenty of followers to agree with them that the law was invalid, while Governor Edwards rallied as many and more in support of his contention that it was constitutional.

[11] This law made the Illinois government the most democratic of any territorial government in the United States at the time. Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, p. 196.

[12] The council: Randolph, Pierre Menard; Gallatin, Benjamin Talbott; St. Clair, William Biggs; Madison, Samuel Judy; Johnson, Thomas Ferguson. The house: Randolph, George Fisher; Gallatin, Alexander Wilson; Johnson, John Grammar; St. Clair, Joshua Oglesby, Jacob Short; Madison, William Jones. *Blue Book of Illinois*, 1903, p. 188.

At length Edwards carried the matter to congress, which virtually reënacted the law as its own, leaving, however, a loophole by neglecting to state clearly the length of time during which the law was to be operative and by failing to declare the territorial legislature competent to regulate the court in the future.

Meanwhile party animosity had been intensified by the appointment, on popular nomination, of the Edwards candidate, Thomas Towles, to fill the vacancy caused by the death in office of Judge Griswold.[13] Another deadlock ensued; in desperation the legislature gave up trying to regulate the federal judges and established local courts at the expense of the territory to take care of the majority of the law cases, leaving the federal judges free of care except for the holding of four general courts each year, two at Kaskaskia and two at Shawneetown.[14]

The political record of the first years of the territorial government is not an absorbing one, for the attention of men was claimed by events of international importance, calling into question the very existence of the western settlements. The Jay treaty, the belated surrender of the northern posts by the British in 1796, the quelling of the Indians by General Wayne, and the treaty of Greenville had failed to bring a lasting peace to the frontier. The land hunger of the settlers was insatiable; it could be appeased only by removing all barriers to westward expansion. The Indians must go; slowly and steadily they were being pushed backward, far back of the boundary so solemnly established by the treaty of Greenville.

Beyond the Illinois frontier line and within the heart of the Indian country were small villages and trading posts — goals toward which the white settlements seemed to the Indians to be racing. These outposts offered the only evidence of Amer-

[13] The fight centered in Gallatin county and the alignment was apparently influenced by the interests of individuals in the United States saline. Supporting Towles, the Edwards candidate, were Leonard White, the United States agent at the saline, Thomas Sloo and John Caldwell, register and receiver respectively of the Shawneetown land office and so interested in the reservation, and one or more men who seem to have been connected with the saline in a private capacity. Opposed to Towles were men who later took occasion to make a formal protest against the management of the saline. Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, p. 200.

[14] Alvord, *Laws of the Territory*, 2 ff., 28; *Laws of Illinois Territory*, 1817-1818, p. 90 ff.; Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, p. 205.

ican authority within the miles of territory stretching to the Canadian border. Here at Peoria was a handful of French traders presided over by Thomas Forsyth, that premier of Indian agents; here lay Prairie du Chien, truly a British hamlet, but the residence of an American agent, Nicolas Boilvin; then there was Chicago, protected by the garrison of Fort Dearborn, the guardian of the strategic Des Plaines portage. Aside from this one small garrison on Lake Michigan, the only regular military force in the territory of Illinois was a handful of soldiers at Fort Massac on the Ohio. Outside the territory, but near at hand, were a small post at Fort Wayne, an outpost at Mackinac, and others in Indiana Territory, and, most important of all, Detroit in Michigan. On this tenuous line of forts and trading posts rested the heavy responsibility of protecting the white settlers to the south from the savages.[15]

What the Foxes a hundred years before had dimly perceived and what Pontiac had seen more clearly was now realized by every Indian in the northwest. From economic self-sufficiency the red men had been reduced to dependence on the fur trade, and now the opportunity to conduct that business was fast melting away with the rapid extension of white men's villages and farms. That inexorable law which demands the expulsion of the less numerous and less civilized people before myriads of settlers better prepared to utilize the ground was in operation. To this law the primitive men refused to bow and stiffened their backs for a final effort to stop this westward rush of their enemies. As well might they have tried to stay the waters rushing over Niagara Falls.

In the approaching contest the Indians could count many warriors, but the tribes near the white settlements could give no help. The once virile Illinois and Piankashaw had been ruined and killed by contact with an alien civilization; strong liquor and disease had performed their work. As early as 1790, Governor St. Clair reported that most of the Peoria and Cahokia, about one hundred families, had crossed to the

[15] According to a report of June 6, 1812, the forces were distributed as follows: In Missouri, Bellefontaine, 134, Fort Osage, 63, Fort Madison, 44; in Illinois, Fort Massac, 36, Fort Dearborn, 53; in Indiana, Vincennes, 117, Fort Wayne, 85, Mackinac, 89; in Michigan, Detroit, 119. *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* 1:320.

western bank of the Mississippi and that the Kaskaskia had been reduced to an insignificant number of warriors, possibly twenty-five. The latter tribe claimed in 1803 that it included all the other members of the confederacy which had once roamed over the prairies and had thereon stamped their names. The last survivors of the Illinois tribes still clung to the faith first taught them by Father Marquette and obtained by treaty from the United States money for the support of a priest and the erection of a church.[16] Along the tributaries of the Wabash extended some bands of the Piankashaw, but like the Illinois they were well under white control and cannot be said to have influenced the struggle.

In the north still dwelt many strong tribes. Chief of these were the Potawatomi, who had succeeded the Illinois Indians in the central valley of the state and had extended their villages eastward to Detroit. They were divided into a number of independent bands, several of which had intermingled with the Kickapoo, Ottawa, Chippewa, and other groups until tribal lines were difficult to define. For this reason, too, their numbers are hard to determine; Forsyth's estimate of one thousand warriors was probably not far from accurate.[17] The Indians on the Illinois river were, on the whole, not ill-disposed to the Americans, two or three of the chieftains being particularly friendly; other bands, however, were frequent visitors to the British at Malden and made little secret of their preference for His Majesty's subjects.

[16] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* 1:687. In 1827 Thomas Forsyth estimated that the Kaskaskia numbered from thirty to forty souls, the Peoria near Ste. Genevieve from ten to fifteen. Forsyth, "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox Nations," in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 2:201. The same writer is the authority for the statement that in 1800 the Kickapoo made a great slaughter among the Kaskaskia, but where were the victims found for slaughter, if Governor St. Clair's report of 1790 is correct? *Ibid.,* 203. In 1833 the Kaskaskia and Peoria removed to the northeastern corner of Oklahoma. In 1905 the consolidated Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea, and Piankashaw numbered 195, but they were mostly half-breeds. *Handbook of American Indians,* article "Illinois."

[17] Thomas Forsyth to William Clark, December 23, 1812, in Forsyth manuscripts in library of the Missouri Historical Society. It may be noted, however, that in an itemized estimate of their villages Forsyth himself does not account for quite so large a number. Thomas Forsyth to William Clark, July 20, 1813, *ibid.* These two letters give exceedingly enlightening information by a man who was in a position to know the facts better than almost anyone else. See also the report furnished Governor Edwards, which differs in a number of estimates. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833,* p. 96.

Close friends of the Potawatomi were the Kickapoo, reduced by this time to about five hundred warriors, scattered in villages, wherein were intermingled other tribes, from the Wabash to the Illinois. They were gallant fighters, proud and arrogant, and ever a potential source of trouble. To the north, the Sauk and Foxes mustered strong in the valley of the Rock. Although in Forsyth's opinion they were cowards and so full of duplicity that not even their friends knew when they were sincere, their numbers — some 1200 or 1500 warriors — made them a formidable foe to reckon with. Along the upper reaches of the Rock river four or five hundred Winnebago still preserved a measure of their pristine valor and cherished an ill-concealed hostility to the Americans. Reënforcing them along Green Bay and around Lake Superior and Lake Huron were numerous bands of Chippewa, frightful drunkards, Forsyth says, and perennial enemies of the Sioux to the west of the Mississippi.

At the moment when the tide of immigration had finally set toward the Illinois prairies, the Indians of the region most directly affected found a voice and an arm in the Shawnee brothers, the Prophet and the noble Tecumseh. The Prophet aroused the Indians to a religious frenzy against the whites and preached a reform of Indian life, a return to Indian customs, the giving up of fire water, the cultivation of the ground;[18] Tecumseh led the emotions excited by his brother toward the goal of an Indian confederation, which should hold all Indian lands in common and prevent such wholesale cessions of territory as were being negotiated by Governor Harrison.

The center of this propaganda was a village established on Tippecanoe creek, a branch of the Wabash. Here were

[18] Forsyth says the Prophet advocated strict monogamy, commanded that all Indians living with white men be brought back to their people and their children left where they were; that all kinds of white people's dress be given back to the first white man encountered and that dogs not of Indian breed be returned; he forbade them to eat food raised or cooked by whites and urged them to abstain from buying alien merchandise. There was to be no buying and selling, merely barter. All medicine bags were to be done away with; in their place a simple ritual was devised. All Indians not following the rules were to be considered evil people, and not suffered to live. This last rule, of course, opened the way for much abuse, and caused an outbreak of persecution and religious fanaticism comparable to the witchcraft hysteria. Forsyth to Clark, December 23, 1812, in Forsyth manuscripts, Missouri Historical Society.

gathered Indians from many tribes, converts to the words of the Prophet and followers of Tecumseh. Meanwhile many tribesmen in other parts of the Old Northwest were attempting to follow the new precepts, although a number of chiefs showed opposition to the new order;[19] Tecumseh carried his messages even farther afield and found many attentive ears among the tribes south of the Ohio.

The Indian leader was well matched by William Henry Harrison. The latter was not without sympathy for the Indians and their intolerable situation, but he was a westerner filled with the ambitions of his people. He realized fully the inevitable consequences of the contact of the two races and did all in his power to hasten the time when the hunting grounds of the Indians would be covered by the towns, villages, and farms of the white men. In direct defiance of Tecumseh's principle that all the Indian lands belonged to all tribes in common, Harrison in 1809 negotiated with only a few of the tribes the treaty of Fort Wayne, whereby about three million acres of the choicest land in Indiana were ceded for $9,700 and annuities amounting to $3,050.[20] The gauntlet had been flung into the Indian leader's face.

The British were by no means uninterested spectators of the drama that was being enacted on the prairies. They were friends of the Indians, and as events pointed more and more clearly to a war between themselves and the Americans, their support of their red brothers tended to become active and open, although they probably kept within the bounds of international decorum; still Malden and Drummond's Island were the Mecca of the discontented aborigines.[21]

[19] Forsyth declared that the Ottawa had been so hostile to the Prophet at the first that if the United States had given them the proper encouragement they alone would have fallen upon him and exterminated his whole band. Forsyth to William Clark, December 23, 1812, in Forsyth manuscripts.

[20] The treaty was negotiated at Fort Wayne and was signed September 30, 1809, by the Delaware, Potawatomi, Miami, and Eel River Miami, subject to the consent of the Wea and the Kickapoo where their respective interests were concerned; the Wea gave their consent October 26 and the Kickapoo ratified the treaty on December 9 and at the same time ceded an additional tract of land on their own account. Royce, *Indian Land Cessions in the United States,* 678; see also map 19; Dawson, *Harrison,* 137.

[21] The Canadian officials stoutly denied the charges of the Americans concerning secret encouragement given the Indians. See communication dated April 24, 1812, in State Department, Territorial Papers.

The new Indian temper was soon evidenced in increased thefts of horses and cattle and in attacks on isolated farm houses or small parties. Greatly alarmed, the pioneers began to clamor for action and in particular demanded the destruction of the Tippecanoe village. Harrison heeded the storm of white hostility arising around him; and in the fall of 1811, while Tecumseh was absent in the south, he led an army of militia against the village on the Tippecanoe. The white commander gave every opportunity for a parley to settle the difficulties between the two races, but the Indians, despairing of any adjustment, suddenly attacked the white camp on November 7. A savage battle ensued; the losses of the Americans were heavier than those of their foes, but they remained victorious on the field, and the village was destroyed.[22] For Tecumseh with his loss of prestige there was only one possible action — to flee to the British and to wait for them to act. This he did; and when war finally broke out he died gallantly fighting against those who wished to turn up the graves of his fathers with the ploughshare. Historians generally agree in naming him among the noblest of his race.

The battle of Tippecanoe was but the prelude of a greater war; the Illinois country was once more to be the prize of an international struggle; the future development of the rolling prairies was again at stake. The British control of the fur trade in the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi was still a source of bitter resentment. The centers of the trade were Mackinac and Prairie du Chien; but although the United States maintained a small garrison at the former and an Indian agent at the latter, neither gave an economic advantage to American traders. Canadians had bought the land and had planted the settlement of Prairie du Chien — in 1811 about one hundred families resided there — and they had no intention of sharing with the Americans the trade of the six thousand Indians who visited the place annually.[23]

Against this encroachment of the aliens were opposed a

[22] Dawson, *Harrison,* 187 ff.

[23] See account by the American Indian agent, Nicholas Boilvin, in Washburne, *Edwards Papers,* 59. Many of these Indians were Sauk and Foxes from the Rock valley and probably secured most of their furs from the hunting grounds west of the Mississippi river.

few United States factories which must, on the whole, be accounted failures; the regulations imposed on the agents could have no other result;[24] with no liquor, no giving of credit, no sale of goods at the Indian hunting grounds, and generally American merchandise offered in barter, the competition with private traders was all too one-sided. The Indians, furthermore, were contemptuous of a state that would stoop to bargaining. The British officials gave away goods; the Indians naturally enough believed the traders' insinuations that the United States agents were selling what were meant to be gifts.[25]

The only hope for the United States to win control over the Indians was in the development of an American trading fraternity that could compete with its northern rivals. In 1808, John Jacob Astor, the man who was finally to organize the business genius of the Americans for the western Indian trade, laid the foundation for the development of the American Fur Company. In spite of the stipulation of the Jay treaty of 1795 demanding a fair field and no favors in the western trade, the United States had managed by its nonimportation policy and by the imposition of duties on goods to hamper the Canadian merchants seriously in their operations east of the Mississippi; and it had dealt them a still more vital blow by attempting to exclude them from the trade in the Louisiana Territory, which was considered not covered by the Jay treaty because it was purchased afterwards, and which was now eclipsing the older region as a profitable fur area.[26] While many officials were expecting war, the hard-headed business men of Montreal perceived the advantages of coöperation across the border. Negotiations resulted on January 28, 1811, in the formation of the Southwest Company, in which Astor

[24] This is in general the attitude of contemporaries and historians; but see a statement of a British agent to the effect that the United States factories were accomplishing their purpose. He writes: "Of all the projects of Gen[l]. G. Washington, after effecting the seperation [*sic*] of those Colonies from the mother country; I apprehend this of the Trading houses, best calculated to undermine the influence of Great Britain." *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 20:4.

[25] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2:335.

[26] Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, 1:13 ff. Houck, *History of Missouri*, 2:254. A list of the licenses issued to traders operating west of the Mississippi between October 1, 1810, and September 30, 1811, is found under date October 1, 1811, in State Department, Territorial Papers.

had a two-thirds interest; the new company was to carry on the trade south of the international boundary.[27]

The life of the Southwest Company was cut short by a declaration of war which was nominally occasioned by disputes concerning the rights of the United States on the seas. The true issues of the War of 1812, however, must be sought in the west; here many controversies with Great Britain had created a feverish public opinion, which insistently demanded the immediate call to arms. Into the conflict the west rushed recklessly but confidently.

The officials at Washington planned wisely the invasion of Canada at several points, one of them being Detroit; but they provided insufficient funds; they permitted politics to determine the selection of officers; they counted on the efficiency of moblike militia; they miscalculated the difficulties of moving troops and munitions through the roadless wilderness; and they underestimated the strength and efficiency of the enemy. In the first year of the war the payment for these mistakes in the west was enormous. Because of the incapacity of the troops and their general, William Hull, Detroit was lost in the first campaign and with it was surrendered the whole Michigan Territory. Mackinac, isolated in the north, offered practically no opposition to the enemy.[28]

On August 15, 1812, the same day that witnessed the shameful loss of Detroit, there occurred on the Illinois lake shore as bloody a tragedy as ever shocked the frontier; and for it also Hull was responsible. When, in the latter part of July, he had received the news that Mackinac had fallen, he had at once conceived it impossible to hold Fort Dearborn, and accordingly on July 29 sent an order to the Chicago commander, Captain Heald, to evacuate his post and march to Fort Wayne. At Fort Dearborn, where the order was received on August 8, it was recognized as an extremely poor piece of strategy, since the Indians of the region — especially the Winnebago, who had committed a number of outrages — would interpret it as a sign of weakness. Hull's orders permitted no dis-

[27] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 25:241, 250, 260, 268, 304.
[28] On the capture of Mackinac, see Cruikshank, *Documents Relating to the Invasion of Canada.*

cretion, however, and there remained nothing to do but to remove the garrison and the little colony of civilians and traders who had gathered under the shadow of the fort.

On the morning of August 15, the garrison and the settlers proceeded from the fort along the lake shore, keeping on their right the ridge of sand hills about a hundred yards back from the water's edge; at a place about a mile and a half below the Chicago river, scores of Indians suddenly began firing on the troops from behind this bank. The men charged the bank and made a brave resistance; but the odds against them were too heavy. The militia was cut down almost to a man; the handful of regulars, overpowered by vastly superior numbers, surrendered to the Indians only after a bloody struggle; while the wagons containing the women and children became a veritable shambles, two women and twelve children being brutally slaughtered. Only a few escaped the tomahawk for the more uncertain fate of Indian captivity. The Americans killed numbered fifty-three; the Indians, perhaps fifteen. For two days the savages reveled in a glut of blood and plunder; then they set fire to the fort, distributed their prisoners, and returned to their villages. In all the region of Lake Michigan there remained not one loyal American at liberty.[29]

The success of the British and the Indians during the year 1812 gave them encouragement to hope that at length the westward push of the American settlements would be stayed, that the British flag, which now waved over the whole lakes region, would never be hauled down. An Englishman, who had lately traveled through the west, upon hearing of the successes of his countrymen, wrote: "If that be true, this Country has to congratulate itself upon the termination of one of the most noxious conditions, of the Treaty of Peace which closed the revolutionary war."[30] He was not the only one who expected that Lord Shelburne's international boundary would be altered.

The agent employed by the British to unite the forces of

[29] For a full account of all the circumstances attending the Fort Dearborn massacre see Quaife's very scholarly interpretation in *Chicago and the Old Northwest, passim.*

[30] Tackle to Bathurst, November 24, 1812, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 20:2.

the Indians was Robert Dickson, adroit but shifty, the despair of every military man but beloved by the Indians. His success in mustering the aborigines — greatly exaggerated by rumor — brought terror to the Americans, to whom the name "Dickson" spelled all that was most horrible in Indian warfare. In 1813 he was at Prairie du Chien, in many ways the most strategic position on the Mississippi, and the British agent made this post the center of British influence among the tribes of the upper region. Had the Canadian officials followed up their early successes in the extreme west, the situation in Illinois and Indiana would have become very critical; but the need of forces at Detroit compelled them to order Dickson to lead thither the Indians — he mustered nearly the whole fighting power of the tribes. The valley of the Mississippi was momentarily saved. Meanwhile Dickson's army of western Indians was not properly utilized by the British at Detroit; and lack of supplies and tiresome waitings soon resulted in the discouragement of these unreliable allies; with the first signs of American strength they were prepared to fall away.[31]

Over against the successes of the British in the Mississippi valley the Americans had little to place. In Illinois and Indiana the danger of defeat was in fact real and was pictured in the imaginations of the people in most vivid colors. At any moment Dickson with his hordes of savages was expected to sweep down upon the settlements. The rumors of his activities were made realities by the frequent Indian parties which, depending on cunning and surprise rather than on numbers, easily passed the cordon of small fortified posts and the stations of rangers and struck sudden blows now here and now there.[32] Large numbers of settlers gathered their chattels and moved away to safer zones, deserting their cleared fields and hard-won improvements. The majority, however, re-

[31] For an account of Dickson's activities see Cruikshank, "Robert Dickson, the Indian Trader," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 12: 133 ff., but particularly 146 ff.

[32] For a list of these posts see Stevens, "Illinois in the War of 1812," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1904, p. 62 ff. Mr. Stevens has collected in this article a mass of most illuminating documentary material that he has culled from many books. The reader will find in this contribution a vivid account of the many episodes of the war told in the words of contemporaries.

mained, but with a rising tide of hatred in their hearts for the Indians. They clamored loudly for retaliation and insisted on being led into the northern country.

During the first months of the war the defense of the distant frontier was left to the ingenuity of the territorial governors. In Illinois the situation was most difficult. Governor Edwards' commission as militia commander had just expired and had not been renewed, and, furthermore, the government had authorized no money for militia. Edwards, not waiting for formalities, collected and organized several companies of mounted militia, paying the immediate expenses out of his own private fortune, and had them patrol the frontier from the Mississippi to Vincennes; he erected Fort Russell, a few miles northwest of the present town of Edwardsville, as the most important link in a long chain of "forts"—each of which consisted for the most part of a single blockhouse—covering practically all the most exposed settlements. For a short time a company of regulars was stationed at Camp Russell but that was practically the only provision made for Illinois by the United States government until 1813, except the authorization to raise six companies of rangers for the entire Old Northwest and Louisiana.[33]

In the valley of the Illinois river lay Peoria with its small French population and near by were villages of Potawatomi, Miami, and Kickapoo. Being the center of Indian life nearest the settled area it assumed in the imagination of the settlers an importance out of all proportion to the facts. Here the men of Illinois saw the breeding place of those numerous Indian forays that harassed the frontier, and they were in a measure correct; but the Potawatomi were still lukewarm in their enthusiasm for the British cause, and several of their chiefs were in favor of maintaining friendly relations with the Americans.

Public opinion demanded action, and in 1812 Governor Edwards prepared two expeditions for the invasion of the Illinois valley. He at first expected to have the coöperation

[33] The detachment at Camp Russell was soon ordered to Vincennes. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 75. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1:319.

of some Kentuckians from Vincennes, but they failed to make their appearance, the soldiers having become discouraged by the difficulties. The first force of the Illinois troops, led by the governor himself, marched by land. The story of this campaign as told by John Reynolds gives a vivid picture of the frontier militia: "The privates (and myself one)," he writes, "did not know or care much where we were marched, whether into danger or a frolic." Still, as they penetrated farther into the north the men became more serious, for they imagined a thousand warriors hidden in every stretch of woodland; but without having flushed an Indian, they marched to within four or five miles of a Miami and Kickapoo village at the head of Peoria lake, where they killed one of the enemy and captured his squaw. When they drew near the village the militia became a mob and rushed without order or restraint upon the huts, which proved to be deserted. Plunder was seized, the village burned, and a hasty retreat made. The army reached safety after suffering the pains of a thirteen days' campaign and no doubt listened with satisfaction to the grandiloquent praise of their valor by their governor and general.[34] Public speaking was a necessary accompaniment of leadership of militia; men and officers had to be persuaded that the military strategy being followed was the best, before they were willing to engage in it.

The second expedition to the Illinois valley under Captain Thomas E. Craig traveled by water without encountering any of the excitement hoped for. They found Peoria practically deserted by its citizens, including the Indian agent, Forsyth. Craig thought that "all the property left appeared like entire loss to the owners" and therefore appropriated it, but upon Forsyth's return gave some of it back. For several days relations between Craig and Forsyth appeared to be amiable, but one morning Craig's boats were fired upon by some unknown party; and upon the slimmest of evidence the people of Peoria were adjudged guilty, half their town was plundered and burned, and about forty inhabitants were carried away as prisoners. In Craig's report to the governor he wrote: "He [Forsyth] and the rest of the dam'd rascals may think them-

[34] Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 73 ff.

selves well off that they were not scalped." Later they were released, and Edwards gave compensation for their losses out of the Indian funds in his hands. The act of Craig was generally condemned by his contemporaries.[35]

The operations in the west had suffered from the divided command under the governors of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Some relief had resulted from the appointment of William Henry Harrison to the command of the northwestern army with orders to recapture Detroit.[36] The authorities at Washington were, however, becoming aroused to the necessity of better-planned and better-organized resistance to the British in the west.

On May 1, 1813, the United States territory was divided into nine military districts, the eighth of which, placed under the command of Major General Harrison, included the states of Kentucky, Ohio, and the territories of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan. In order that a more concentrated effort might be made to clear the Mississippi river and its tributaries, a subdistrict, including Illinois and Missouri, with headquarters at St. Louis, was set off and placed in charge of Brigadier General Benjamin Howard, who resigned from the governorship of Missouri.[37] Furthermore, the organization of ten companies of mounted rangers, four for Indiana, and three each for Illinois and Missouri, was authorized.[38] These rangers had proved themselves the most effective of the militia. The men were selected with some care; their movements were rapid and they inspired the Indians with fear, since the

[35] The fullest account of this campaign is found in Reynolds, *My Own Times* and in his *Pioneer History of Illinois;* for Edwards' report see Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833,* p. 69 ff., and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* 2:62; for Craig's report, see Washburne, *Edwards Papers,* 86. Forsyth's account is found in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 11:351 ff., 355. Forsyth later petitioned congress for compensation for the property destroyed. The difficulty arose largely from the fact that Forsyth's relation to the United States government was purposely kept secret.

[36] The commission, dated September 17, 1812, is printed in Hall, *A Memoir of the Public Services of William Henry Harrison,* 178.

[37] *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* 1:387, 432; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 2:208.

[38] The development at Washington of interest in the western situation can be followed in the letters of Shadrach Bond, delegate to congress, to Edwards. Washburne, *Edwards Papers,* 93 ff. For a list of officers of the companies organized in accordance with this plan, see *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* 1:421.

aborigines of the prairies had not learned the art of resisting cavalry attacks.[39]

Governor Edwards, disappointed at being thus eliminated from military command, seized the occasion to visit during the summer his former home in Kentucky and even petitioned for permission to pay a visit to Washington. This was not granted. In his letter he proudly detailed his military record: "I had caused to be burnt every Kickapoo village except a small one of five or six lodges — and had penetrated further into the indian country than any force had gone — and I can safely say that with many difficulties I had encountered as much toil and fatigue as any soldier in General Harrison's army. I had not abandoned my post for a day since the first Indian dangers commenced — and I should not have left the territory at all . . . . if anything had been left for me to do."[40] He had returned to Illinois by early winter.

Meanwhile General Howard had taken active measures to push the defense of the American frontier northward. A force of rangers from Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Kentucky marched to Peoria again and built Fort Clark, which was afterwards garrisoned by regulars who remained there till the end of the war. As the Indians were by this time becoming dispirited, the war energy of the west could be expended in Indiana and in the recapture of Detroit, which had to be abandoned by the British after the brilliant naval victory of Captain Perry on September 10, 1813. The invasion of Canada was now possible.

The situation in the Mississippi region remained practically unchanged. In spite of several efforts the British hold was not broken. In June, 1813, two hundred men under General William Clark succeeded in occupying Prairie du Chien, while Dickson and the Indians were absent in Canada; but in July of the next year the small garrison left there was compelled to surrender to a larger force of British and Indians from Mackinac. Two expeditions were subsequently sent

[39] The Indians learned to fear cavalry at the battle of Fallen Timbers. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 20: 9.

[40] Edwards to Monroe, July 6 and August 17, 1813, in State Department, Bureau of Rolls and Library Papers, envelope, "Illinois." Photostats in Illinois Historical Survey.

from St. Louis up the river to regain control, but the British had reënforced the Sauk and Foxes at their natural stronghold at Rock Island, so that neither succeeded in passing this point. The second of these expeditions, sent out in August, 1814, under Major Zachary Taylor, later president of the United States, suffered especially heavy losses; after Taylor's retreat Fort Edwards was built at Warsaw and was held till the end of the war. This fort and the one at Peoria marked the northernmost line over which the Americans were able to claim control on the Illinois frontier.[41]

Both countries were becoming weary of the struggle, although Great Britain, as the war against Napoleon drew to an end, was able to send larger forces to America. Propositions for a peace were made and accepted and in time commissioners of the two nations met at Ghent to negotiate directly. These negotiations took a turn wholly unanticipated by the American delegates. The issues that gave rise to the war were practically dismissed from the discussion, and the northern boundary line and the Indian question became paramount. The last was so wholly unexpected by the American commissioners that they were without instructions concerning it.[42]

The Englishmen had come to the meeting prepared to make the diplomatic fight turn on the disposition of the west. The success of the British arms had left the empire in control of the northern lakes and had created a situation somewhat similar to that which had existed at the close of the Revolutionary War. Many were now demanding that what was regarded as an error in drawing the boundary in 1783 be corrected; the whole lakes region with its valuable fur trade should be made a part of Canada.[43] The ministry feared to make so open a demand for territory and so had formulated

[41] "Bulger Papers," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* 13:14 ff.; "Lawe and Dickson Papers," *ibid.,* 10:94 ff.; "Dickson and Grignon Papers," *ibid.,* 11:271 ff.; "Papers from the Canadian Archives," *ibid.,* 12:108 ff. Brymner, "Capture of Fort M'Kay, Prairie du Chien," *ibid.,* 11:254; Kingsford, *History of Canada,* 8:511 ff., 520. Reynolds, *My Own Times* (ed. 1879), 99 ff. Taylor's report of his repulse is printed in Stevens, *The Black Hawk War,* 52 ff.

[42] A very complete account of the negotiations will be found in Updyke, *Diplomacy of the War of 1812.* On the points proposed for discussion by the British commissioners see p. 201.

[43] The merchants of London suggested four possible boundaries; Updyke, *Diplomacy of the War of 1812,* p. 204.

another solution which they were determined to make a *sine qua non* of peace. The Indians were their allies and as independent nations should be included in the treaty; an independent Indian state with definite and inviolable boundaries should be erected, wherein neither Great Britain nor the United States should have the power to purchase land. The most extreme demand was that the line established by the treaty of Greenville in 1795 between the Indian hunting grounds and the white settlements should be made permanent. This would have thrown the northern part of modern Ohio, all Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, the trans-Mississippi west, as well as part of Canada, into this proposed buffer state or perpetual Indian reservation. Furthermore, only the British should be permitted to maintain naval and military armaments on the Great Lakes.[44]

To this demand the American commissioners offered a stubborn resistance, threatening more than once to break off the negotiations. The United States, following the practice of Great Britain, had assumed that the Indian tribes were not independent nations in their foreign relations; the term "sovereignty" could in no way be applied to the power the tribes exercised. Fortunately for the United States, its commission was composed of some of the nation's most capable men; John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, and Henry Clay[45] towered over the British representatives in intellect and capacity. The contest hung long in the balance and was not wholly uninfluenced by events in Europe. In the end the British ministers were forced to yield and to accept a statement that the United States would restore to the Indians the rights and possessions held in the year 1811.[46] The treaty was signed on December 24, 1814.

The commissioners of the two nations reached no agreement on the question of armaments on the lakes. The original

[44] The British propositions were published in the United States during the course of the negotiations and caused a great outcry, which was particularly loud in Illinois. The message of Governor Edwards, published in Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833*, p. 78 ff., as though written in 1812 but belonging to this period, shows the natural reaction in the west to this proposal.

[45] The other two were men of less note. *American State Papers, Foreign Affairs*, 3:723.

[46] Updyke, *Diplomacy of the War of 1812*, p. 273.

demand that Great Britain alone should be permitted to maintain a navy on these inland seas was too absurd for discussion. The question was later considered in each country, and the advocates of preparedness in both urged a policy that would have resulted in a severe competition in the building of warships and forts. Better counsels finally prevailed, and Great Britain agreed on April 28, 1817, to a proposal of the United States government that both navies on the lakes be reduced to proportions which would render them useless for war. By the operation of the subsequent convention there has been established between two great nations an international boundary unprotected by armored cruisers or great forts, a monument most fitting to those two lovers of humanity, Benjamin Franklin and Lord Shelburne, whose ideas find their complete expression in this border line of peace.

The Indians had made their stand—as far as real danger to the white settlers was concerned, their last stand for their lands. Never again could they hope to secure the powerful aid of the British empire. They had failed. The United States had promised that the Indians should be given back the lands which they possessed in 1811, but all knew that the westward thrust of the Americans would never be stayed. The Indian must continue to yield.

In the spirit of despair the tribes accepted the inevitable. The Sauk and the Foxes, who had repeatedly denied the validity of the cession made at St. Louis in 1804, now were compelled to confirm it, the Indians retaining the privilege of living on the ceded territory so long as it was the property of the United States. On August 24, 1816, at St. Louis, the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa gave up their claim to the cession of the Sauk and Foxes south of a line drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river, and the United States relinquished its rights north of that line. By the same treaty these tribes ceded land along the Des Plaines and the Illinois rivers for a proposed canal.

In 1818 the remnants of the Illinois made a new treaty granting their lands to the United States again, and the Potawatomi ceded a small strip on the Indiana border. The central prairies were still occupied by the Kickapoo, unrecon-

ciled to their fate; but on July 30, 1819, they, too, yielded and moved across the Mississippi.[47] Thus at the moment Illinois became a state, it had a clear title to most of the land within its borders.

[47]All these treaties may be found in Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties,* volume 2. For map, see Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 40.

XXI. IN THE FULLNESS OF TIME

WITH the close of the War of 1812 passed the wilderness years of Illinois history; the struggle between nations for the dominion over the prairies was also over. The story of this volume has therefore been told. New conditions and new men were to come quickly into the ascendancy. The forces that created of Illinois a frontier state developed in the next three years. The romantic age of the French villages, of Indian life, and of the fur trade was soon forgotten. So rapid was the change that the men who laid out Chicago in 1830 did not see the passage of fur laden mackinaw boats up the Des Plaines river, across the portage to the Chicago, and thence on to that earthly heaven of traders at the head of the lake. If now and then shadowy forms did propel phantom boats along the ancient route, the song of their thin voices was drowned by the shouts of speculators bidding for city lots on the lake front.

Peace brought in its train many events affecting the territory. The war had won for the United States a true independence, which must be asserted against the British traders of the lakes. By 1816 the factories had been reëstablished at Mackinac, Chicago, and Prairie du Chien, and a new one had been placed at Green Bay. Two years later Fort Edwards was given a trading house as a branch of the Prairie du Chien factory. All the posts were at strategic trading points; their safety was insured and their prestige augmented by new or restored military establishments at the same locations and additional posts at Rock Island (Fort Armstrong) and at Peoria (Fort Clark). Clearly the government was more determined than it had ever been before to make good its claim to authority.

The day of the national enterprise in the fur trade was almost over. The genius of the American people displayed itself during the nineteenth century in the energy of its business

men. Private merchants were now more seriously engaging in the fur trade, and they complained of competition by the national government; their interests were voiced in congress, and soon the field was left free to individuals.[1] Among these John Jacob Astor was the most conspicuous and he was just reaching the culmination of his career. His Southwest Company with its double nationality had weathered the storm of war and had actually succeeded in carrying on some trade.[2] The United States government, however, was determined to oust the British completely, and Astor was actively aspiring to get the whole trade into his own hands. Largely at his instigation,[3] in 1816 congress passed a law prohibiting foreigners from engaging in the business unless they secured permits from the American Indian agent in whose territory they were operating.[4] The exception was necessary inasmuch as there were not enough American traders to supply the Indians' needs; but the discrimination consciously exercised against British traders who were known to have exerted an inimical political influence on the Indians before or during the War of 1812 excluded large numbers, while of course all the alien merchants read in the act of congress their impending doom.

Even such an organization as the Southwest Company could not hope to evade the application of the new rule, and the Montreal merchants who were concerned in it were glad to dispose of their interests to Astor. This *entrepreneur* also undertook to relieve the Northwest Company of the few posts it had within United States territory. For his new and ambitious organization he revived the name of the company he had merged into the Southwest Company; henceforth the American Fur Company was the central factor in the fur trade of the west.

At first the change of names involved very little change

[1] See many discussions on the factory system by contemporaries in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* volume 3; Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest,* 289 ff.

[2] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 15:281, 590.

[3] Chittenden, *American Fur Trade,* 1:310. Numerous letters concerning the fur trade of the lakes at this period are printed in *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* volumes 19 and 20.

[4] The act lodged the power of granting permits in the president, but in practice he delegated his prerogative to Indian agents who were on the scene and therefore more competent to decide such questions.

in the methods of trading or in the personnel of the employees. With the interests of the Southwest Company Astor took over almost all the traders and *engagés*—boatmen, interpreters, and the like—who had been working for it; he was obliged, however, to employ a large number of young Americans as his clerks in order to comply with the law. Consequently, the company soon came to be in fact as well as in name an American concern. To the end of its days it continued to employ the hardy Canadian *voyageurs,* but the posts of responsibility were held by Americans; and British influence, though still conjured up as a scapegoat for any maladjustments in the traffic, in reality ceased to be a considerable factor.[5]

Illinois Territory for a few years offered two fields for operation: the Sauk-Fox-Winnebago country, centering at Prairie du Chien and extending along the Rock river and down the Mississippi, and the valley of the Illinois river. In the Prairie du Chien and Mississippi regions the American Fur Company had to meet heavy competition from traders in St. Louis, but even so their profits were undoubtedly large. In the Illinois valley the company had practically a free hand, and here it maintained a force of some thirty clerks, traders, interpreters, and boatmen, reaping a harvest in 1816 of about twenty-three thousand dollars' worth of peltry.[6]

The fur trade passed with the northward advance of settlement. The extreme slowness of the land commissioners in settling private claims and in opening land for purchase had deterred immigrants from coming to Illinois. By 1810 the complicated business was cleared up sufficiently for the surveyors to begin marking off the townships, and in 1814 the land office opened the sales. The end of the war in this same year also removed another serious check to settlement, and the pent-up flood at last was free to spread over the prairies.

[5] For a much fuller description of the company's methods see Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 23 ff., upon which this discussion is based. Hubbard, *Autobiography,* contains a most interesting account of the activities of one of Astor's fur traders.

[6] In the winter of 1819-1820 there were among the Sauk and Foxes five traders employing nine clerks and interpreters and forty-three laborers; the Indians sold that year 2,760 beaver skins, 922 otter, 13,440 raccoon, 12,900 muskrat, 500 mink, 200 wildcat, 680 bear, and 28,680 deer, the estimated value of the whole being $58,800. Marston, "Letter of Major Marston to Reverend Doctor Morse," in Blair, *Indian Tribes,* 2:150.

Land was taken up with startling rapidity; a land office was set up at Shawneetown in 1812, and in 1816, another at Edwardsville. Even so, settlement advanced faster than did the sales; by the end of 1818 the best land in all the districts had been bought by settlers and speculators, the Military Bounty tract north of the Illinois river had been in large measure surveyed, and patents had been assigned to the soldiers.

While the largest number of immigrants naturally took up land for farming, the populations of the older towns — Kaskaskia, Shawneetown, and Edwardsville — were also increased by the coming of professional men and artisans, and the sites of a number of new towns were laid out and "boomed" by speculators.[7] East St. Louis, or "Illinoistown," Alton, and Cairo were among the more important towns that were being projected in the closing years of the territory.

During the years of the war the immigration into the country was not rapid, and by 1815 Illinois could count an increase of only a scant three thousand in population; but the next three years witnessed a miracle. The slow infiltration of people developed into a flood. Illinois was now the land of promise for the pioneers hurrying across the mountains. Between 1815 and 1818 about one and three-fifths as many people sought homes in the territory as had settled during all the preceding years. Thus when statehood came the great majority of the founders were practically strangers.

Inevitably the country began to emerge from wilderness conditions. In 1814 the first newspaper printed in Illinois was established at Kaskaskia by Matthew Duncan; at first called the *Illinois Herald,* in 1816 its name was changed to *Western Intelligencer* and under this title it was continued for two years by a succession of owners; in May, 1818, it was again rechristened the *Illinois Intelligencer.* In 1818 a second paper, the *Illinois Emigrant,* was started at Shawneetown by Henry Eddy and Peter Kimmel and his sons.[8] Inasmuch as the *Missouri Gazette,* across the river at St. Louis, also enjoyed a considerable Illinois patronage, such a showing is significant,

[7] For a much fuller account of settlement than is possible within the limits of this chapter see Buck, *Illinois in 1818,* p. 36 ff.

[8] *Ibid.,* 171 ff.

for, of course, numbers of people still continued to subscribe to eastern papers as well as to these local ones. The newspapers were not extensively supplemented by other reading matter, since migration discouraged the acquisition of books; nevertheless, some of the settlers, especially the lawyers, had small private libraries; and an English traveler was amazed to find that English and American novels and other popular works found their way westward within three or four months after their publication.[9]

Schools were few and very poor, being limited almost exclusively to informal private groups collected in various communities by migratory teachers; Kaskaskia actually had no school at all until 1817, and St. Louis offered but slightly better opportunities. Ambitious youths had to seek higher education in the older states, most often in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Although the great majority of the youths of the territory had extremely scant "book learning," the host of things that they learned in the school of hard experience answered their purposes as well or better. Good marksmanship was an almost indispensable accomplishment where every family depended on its hunters to furnish all or part of its meat supply. Further, each household had to be almost entirely self-sufficient, a situation which demanded a high degree of practical versatility and ingenuity on the part of all the family; from infancy children had to learn to adjust themselves to their environment in a way that constituted a real education.

There was little check upon the actions and beliefs of the frontiersmen except that of an extremely elastic public opinion. To the French inhabitants migration into the wilderness had brought only a slight relaxing of the bonds of civilization; in the early days both church and state had made every effort to follow them into their new abode and to maintain a firm hold over them, with the result that even at this time the Illinois French were described as an orderly, peace-loving people. With the Americans matters were far different. Protestant preachers followed the immigrants only at a considerable distance and, in any case, whatever control they exercised was

[9] Quaife, *Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago*, 80.

wholly dependent on the consent of the controlled. The state, too, from the first depended upon the public opinion of the settlers to keep order. This process was of course highly democratic, afforded real training in self-government, inculcated an extreme spirit of independence, and drove from the memories of immigrants from the Old World any tendency to respect class distinctions. Frequently the freedom of the frontier resulted in an abandonment of restraint, and the western border always afforded an asylum to numberless criminal and disorderly characters. Consequently the American frontier exhibited a freedom, a breeziness, an irreligion, and a lawlessness, that had never existed in the French villages except perhaps in the very earliest days of the *coureurs de bois*.

Naturally there were forces leading in the opposite direction — godly men and women whose religion was more than a form to be discarded at the earliest opportunity; and these undertook to supply for themselves as best they could their spiritual wants. Among them was always to be found an occasional soul whose knowledge of the Scriptures and recollection of sermons he had formerly heard inspired him to preach to his fellow wanderers in the wilderness. What such volunteer preachers lacked in training they made up for in fervor of expression and zeal in service, and their efforts usually won appreciative congregations. A "meeting," furthermore, always offered a welcome social relief from the solitude and hardships of the frontier homes, and the announcement of a service seldom failed to draw a crowd.

By 1815 the Baptists and Methodists had become numerous. The latter early organized the country; and by 1818 they had established five circuits with seven preachers in addition to some local exhorters. In 1815, just after the war, the Presbyterians in the east became aware of the possibilities of Illinois as a fruitful mission field; two ministers, Samuel Mills and Daniel Smith, made a tour through the country and brought back an urgent appeal for help. They found many citizens of Presbyterian preferences who had no connection with their denomination; there were almost no Bibles in the territory — among the eighty or one hundred families of Kaskaskia these missionaries thought there were not more

than four or five, and at Shawneetown it was impossible to purchase any.[10]

The Catholic church moved forward to keep abreast of the advancing pioneers. A church originally planted by a monarchy was adjusting itself to a democratic frontier. On April 8, 1808, the diocese of Bardstown, including Kentucky, Tennessee, the Old Northwest, and the trans-Mississippi region north of the Arkansas river, was established. The new bishop, Benedict Joseph Flaget, did not arrive in Louisville until May, 1811. He found but two priests in all the Old Northwest, one at Detroit and the other, the aged Father Donatian Olivier, at Prairie du Rocher, but after the arrival of a western bishop the conditions changed rapidly. Almost immediately a priest was appointed for Cahokia.[11]

During the years of violence described in the preceding chapter, there took place in Cahokia an event which was the antithesis of all that was occurring in the neighborhood. Quietly, unobtrusively, there was established on the Cahokia mound—hereafter called Monks' Mound—a monastery of Trappists, members of the most ascetic order of the Catholic world. They were led here by Father Urbain Guillet, who with some followers came to America in 1803. In 1805 they established themselves in Kentucky, but finding no opportunity to preach to the Indians, which was their principal purpose in seeking the west, they moved to Cahokia, and were befriended by Nicolas Jarrot and Governor Edwards. They made their home on Monks' Mound, where they erected several simple buildings for their needs. Here they spent each day twelve hours in mediation, preserved the rule of silence, and, on a meager diet of vegetables and water, performed their prescribed hard labor. They cultivated their land, they worked among the sick and poor, they served the deserted churches, and maintained a free school.

The Trappists' exertions did not meet the success they merited. From the first many hardships befell them. In the

[10] Mills and Smith, *Report of a Missionary Tour Through that Part of the United States which lies West of the Allegany Mountains*, 17 ff.

[11] Beuckman, "Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in Illinois," in *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1:68. Lindsay, "Un Précurseur de la Trappe du Canada Dom Urbain Guillet," in *La Nouvelle France*, 15:213; 17:187.

plague of 1810, which resulted in the death of many people, the monks lost four members; this disaster was followed by an almost complete failure of crops; and in the winter of 1811–1812 they endured the terror of the earthquake that recurred from December 16 to February. Father Urbain tried to obtain from congress four thousand acres of land by free cession or by purchase, but without success. Finally, discouraged and worn out by suffering, the community in 1813 returned to the east and thence, after the overthrow of Napoleon, to France.[12]

With a population so new to Illinois and occupied with home making, there could be no spontaneous outburst of a demand for statehood. The sentiment was instead cleverly worked up by a few politicians. The man responsible for originating the movement was Daniel P. Cook, a brilliant and lovable young *protégé* of Pope and Edwards, who deliberately chose the issue of entrance into the union as most likely to make his political fortune. After returning from London, whither he had been sent with dispatches, he made his way to Illinois, where he had already acquired an interest in the *Western Intelligencer*. By some well-written articles he soon gained the attention of the people most interested. He pointed out that the many difficulties under which Illinois was laboring would soon be straightened out if the citizens controlled their own destiny. Party strife, hushed somewhat by the war, had not yet developed a new impetus, and there was no inclination to raise objections to the project. Governor Edwards recommended it in his message, and the legislature, which assembled on December 1, took it under advisement; in ten days a petition to congress was passed unanimously.

While this precipitancy is no doubt in large measure to be accounted for by the characteristically western optimism of the legislators and the youthful fervor of Cook, an added impetus was also furnished by the knowledge that in Missouri agitation had already begun for admission to statehood, and

[12] For an account of the monastery and letters from the founder see Lindsay, "Un Précurseur de la Trappe du Canada Dom Urbain Guillet," in *La Nouvelle France*, 10:417 and succeeding numbers. There is a description by a visitor to the monastery in 1811 in Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, appendix p. 5. See also Flagg, *The Far West*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 26:191.

Illinois as the more eastern state felt it imperative for its honor that it should achieve the new dignity first.

The serious question was that of population. The Ordinance of 1787 required that the census should show sixty thousand people. The petition to congress assured that body that there were forty thousand inhabitants, the figure being arrived at by careful estimates made by representatives from the various counties; but good judgment warned that congress would scarcely be satisfied with a mere estimate; and, accordingly, the legislature provided that a census be taken between April and June, 1818, with a supplementary census to be continued from June to December, in order that at all times accurate data might be available.

Likewise with a view to prospective statehood this legislature on January 2, 1818, created three new counties: Washington, Franklin, and Union. From 1812 to 1817, inclusive, seven counties had been already formed to take care of the increasing population: Edwards, White, Jackson, Pope, Monroe, Crawford, and Bond; so that with the five counties created by 1812 there was now a total of fifteen.

In the national capital, in response to the petition, a bill was brought into the house on January 23 "to enable the people of Illinois Territory, to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union." Pressure of business prevented consideration until April 4, after which the bill moved with surprising rapidity through the processes of amendment and approval by both houses, receiving at the end of two weeks, on April 18, 1818, the signature of the president.

For the promptness with which the bill moved through congress as well as for some of its most desirable provisions, credit must be given to Nathaniel Pope, the territorial delegate. The bill as originally introduced fixed the northern boundary ten miles north of the southernmost extremity of Lake Michigan; Pope at once entered an appeal for a more generous portion of the lake shore and argued so eloquently that the boundary was shifted some forty-one miles northward, adding about eight thousand square miles to the territory of the state, including, of course, the site of Chicago. While

Pope can scarcely be credited with foreknowledge of the great metropolis that was to develop out of the little trading post and garrison, his plea was based on a statesmanlike perception of the advantages of a good frontage on the lake. He also argued that a lake port would bring many northern men to the new state, an argument that made a strong appeal in New England and New York.

Equally commendable was Pope's amendment of the provision turning over to the state for the purpose of improving the roads five per cent of the proceeds of the federal lands sold within its boundaries; at his instigation this was changed so that three-fifths of this fund should be applied for education.[13] The feature was distinctive for Illinois and, it was felt, gave the state a notable advantage over other regions open to immigration.

The original bill had provided that a census made by the United States marshal must show the territory to have a population of forty thousand before steps toward a convention could be taken, but Pope induced congress instead to accept the figures of the census provided for by the legislature — a substitution which in the event proved crucial.

For the rest, the act fixed the voting qualifications for the election of members to the constitutional convention, giving the suffrage to all white male citizens of the United States twenty-one years of age who had resided in the territory six months and to all persons otherwise qualified for voting for representatives in the territorial legislature; the apportionment of delegates to the convention was also specified.

Other provisions were offered the new state, if the convention chose to accept them; every sixteenth section of each township of federal land was to be given over for the use of schools and one entire township for a seminary, on condition that United States lands be made exempt from state taxation for six years after the sale; the Military Bounty lands,

[13] Pope argued that in other states where the five per cent grant for roads had been made it had been parceled out among the counties in such a way that little improvement had been accomplished; he considered that roads would in any case be cared for by the commonwealth—in Illinois "nature had left little to be done," anyway—but that education was not likely to be adequately provided for. Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, p. 226.

too, were to be exempt for three years if held by patentees or their heirs.

Promptly the Illinois political pot began to bubble for the election of members to the constitutional convention, and in the *Intelligencer* and in private conversation men began serious discussion of the problems before the convention. It soon became evident that the question of slavery was to occupy the center of the stage. Illinois Territory at its separation from Indiana had carried over the latter's indenture law, but during the years of territorial government a feeling had developed among an increasing number of the citizens that this law was contrary to the famous article six of the Ordinance of 1787. Accordingly the same session of the legislature which had petitioned congress for the enabling act had undertaken to repeal the indenture act; Governor Edwards had vetoed it, however, because in its preamble it was stated that the law had always been invalid. It was clear that the new constitution would have to take a stand on the whole subject of slavery and indenture; and as a definite and highly important issue it became the chief bone of contention in the election of dele gates.

The territory had, especially in the later years, bee receiving a goodly number of immigrants whose sentimen were unequivocally against slavery or any compromise tha savored of it. At the opposite extreme were relatively a fe who wanted all the bars against the institution lifted; occupy ing middle ground were the majority of the voters wh had no particular desire to extend the power of slavery, bu who felt that its strict prohibition would seriously hampe settlement; for the most part, they found the indenture la a comfortable compromise. The situation allowed of a almost infinite variety of opinion, and the election could ther fore be anything but clear-cut. Many who felt that time wa needed for a clarification favored delay in taking advantag of the enabling act.

By June it began to appear that a postponement might b necessary, for the returns of the census showed that, with th exception of Franklin, which had not yet been canvassed, a the counties together could count only 34,620 inhabitants eve

by a most generous system of enumeration.[14] Optimistically trusting that the supplementary census would show the required 40,000 by the time a constitution could be framed and presented to congress, however, the voters proceeded in July to elect the specified thirty-three members to the convention; that body, accordingly, assembled in Kaskaskia on August 3, 1818. By this time additional census returns had brought the official figures to 40,258; the convention promptly accepted this count at its face value and proceeded to draw up the organic law for the new state.

Considering that the convention was in session only twenty-one days, nine of which were idled away while the committee assigned for the purpose was engaged in preparing a draft of the constitution, it is not surprising that the document finally adopted by that body was not particularly complex and that within a few years it proved inadequate to the needs of the growing state. It followed the familiar outlines of the three-function governments of the older states; the legislative power was vested in a bicameral assembly meeting biennially and elected under a wide suffrage by the white male inhabitants twenty-one years of age resident in the state for six months preceding the election. The executive was vested in a governor elected by the same constituency for a term of four years; he was assigned the usual duties but was severely limited in his veto power and also in his patronage.[15]

The painful experiences with the judiciary under the territorial government naturally caused that department to be regarded as one of peculiar importance, and its whole organization and control was definitely placed in the hands of the legislature.

Because of the wide range of opinions on the subject of slavery the formulation of that part of the constitution dealing with this matter aroused by far the keenest excitement in the convention. There was the matter of the "French slaves," whose owners had supposedly been guaranteed protection in

[14] A comparison of the figures of the census of 1818 with those of the United States census two years later shows beyond doubt that the returns were in many instances heavily padded.

[15] The working of the constitution is discussed at length in *Centennial History of Illinois*, 2: 33 ff.

Virginia's act of cession to the federal government; there was the system of indentures which had proved an extremely convenient solution of the labor problem; there was the fear of discouraging immigration if the new state were made out-and-out free soil; on the other hand, there was the fear that congress would throw out the whole constitution unless it conformed to the Ordinance of 1787, and also a considerable sentiment in favor of unqualified prohibition. Where so many points were to be considered and where the majority of the convention as well as of the people occupied tolerant middle ground, the result was bound to be a compromise; and the convention did indeed achieve a work of art in that field. To this day it is difficult to decipher exactly what it intended to do with the institution of slavery.

Briefly, it forbade further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude, but specified that existing indentures and contracts must be fulfilled and provided that Negroes might still be bound "while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona fide consideration" to serve for not more than one year. In this connection, further, it practically admitted that the practice under the former indenture law had virtually amounted to slavery since it provided that the children of indentured persons were to become free, the males on coming of age. No indentures made outside the state could be enforced within the state, except one year contracts in the salines, where Negro labor was regarded as indispensable. Unlike the constitutions of Ohio and Indiana, this constitution failed to bind the state never to make a revision which would admit slavery.

What, then, was the intention of the convention? The clause probably means simply that the people of the state were not ready to take a definite stand on the question, and that these provisions were offered as the least that congress might be expected to accept.

As a matter of fact the only question seriously raised in congress in regard to the approval of the Illinois constitution and the admission of the state was in regard to this clause. The foes of slavery declared the guarantees insufficient to satisfy the meaning of the Ordinance of 1787. National

politics, however, had not yet reached the point where the matter seemed as vital as it did at a later period, and presently the objection was overridden. On December 3, 1818, the president by his signature of the act of admission made Illinois a state in the union.

Almost a century and a half had elapsed since Louis Jolliet first prophesied the future development of the prairies. His prescience was now being realized; a white population was spreading over the level stretches. The country of the Illinois, the most pivotal territory of the great Mississippi valley, had become a state. Another experiment in free government by men of English speech was thus initiated in the valley that was preordained to be the home of millions.

Illuminating are historical contrasts. At this period, when in America the free government of the United States was intrusting to a few thousand people the destiny of one of the most fertile regions of the world, in Europe the forces of reaction and autocracy were united in the Holy Alliance to crush democracy wherever it might show signs of life. Liberalism in the two countries that had once sent military forces to stand guard over Fort de Chartres seemed dying.

Strange are the ways of Fate! Still the eighteenth century development may have been a presage of the future. Three more generations will come and go and the state upon the banks of the Mississippi will reach its centenary, and the sons of democracy — the conquerors of the prairies — will be fighting in Europe the battles of France and England! Were both the hopes of Europe and the destiny of America involved in the success of the experiment in democratic government inaugurated in the year 1818 in the country of the Illinois?

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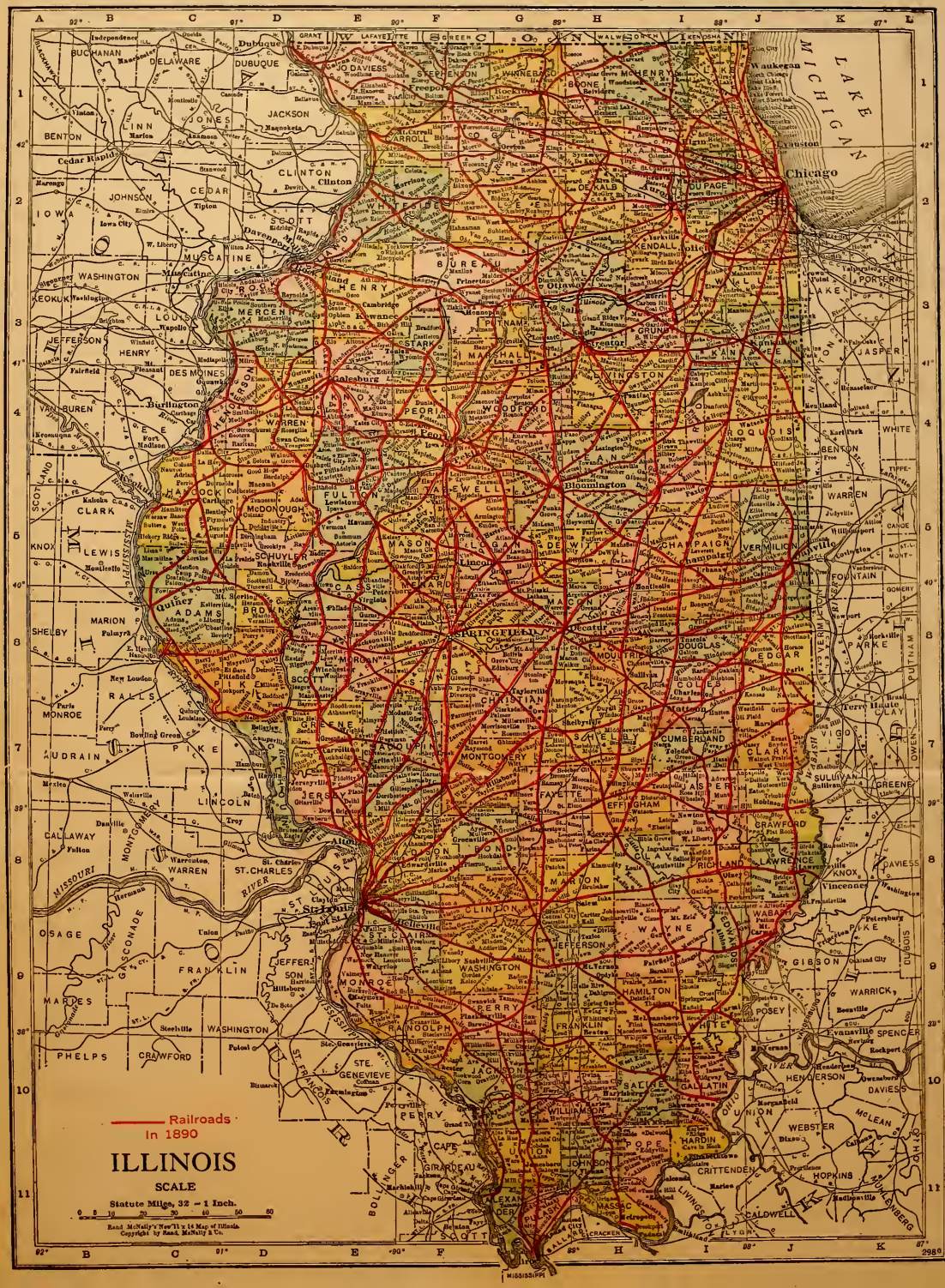
Railroads
In 1890
ILLINOIS
SCALE
Statute Miles, 32 = 1 Inch.
0 8 10 20 30 40 50 60
Rand McNally's New 71 x 14 Map of Illinois.
Copyright by Rand, McNally & Co.
Chicago
Evanston
Waukegan
LAKE MICHIGAN
Dubuque
Burlington
Quincy
Peoria
Springfield
Decatur
Bloomington
Rockford
Aurora
Joliet
Galesburg
Rock Island
Moline
Davenport
Cedar Rapids
Iowa City
Fairfield
Ottumwa
Keokuk
Hannibal
Quincy
Alton
St. Louis
Belleville
Centralia
Effingham
Mattoon
Champaign
Urbana
Danville
Kankakee
Ottawa
La Salle
Streator
Pontiac
Lincoln
Jacksonville
Carrollton
Edwardsville
Chester
Cairo
Mississippi River
Missouri River
Ohio River
Wabash River
Illinois River

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[1] This bibliography is limited to books and manuscript material actually used. In practically every instance transcripts of the archival material indicated are in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois, Urbana.

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